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[For information on the men's societies and their activities, see all of the above categories.]

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[For information on the modern "giveaway" ceremonies as a form of public spectacle, see Category 431.]

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

dynamic one, and included remarks that were critical of his own candidacy or performance in office. On one occasion the interpreter gave introductory recognition to candidates who were unable to attend and commented that "your support at the polls would be most appreciated" by those candidates. People running for office draw upon ties of kinship that might have been overlooked or ignored in the recent past. It is often said that if you can get the support of a few key people you can be assured of the "full-blood vote," indicating the belief that kinsmen will vote with their family leaders.

People of both orientations attend church services according to individual interests and needs. Leaders of the different denominations actively proselyte among both unaffiliated people and the membership of the other churches. Interest in church attendance appears to follow the patterns indicated in the responses to my questionnaire where only three of the Indian-oriented and four of the white-oriented reported regular church attendance.

Rodeos and sports events are occasions for the largest gatherings which include relatively equal attendance and participation by people of both orientations. The rodeo attracts the largest crowds. These are public events open to all who buy a ticket and are given wide publicity; the participants are largely local people and drawn from both orientation groups.

People from both groups were seen in attendance at rodeos held in Browning and at Birch Creek during each summer of fieldwork. The informal grouping in the stands and around the grounds appear to be based on family and friendship ties. Families—parents, children and grandchildren—sit together. People apart from their families sit with their friends. In the rural areas, the spectators sit in cars and trucks, or stand around the arena. They cheer for their kinsmen and friends and jeer at the opposition; it is a lively and often moving crowd. Cultural orientations appear to operate in the smaller groupings that make up the larger crowds.

The sports events draw smaller numbers of people than do the rodeos, but the nature of participation and attendance is similar. One such event, an elementary school track meet I attended, appeared particularly noteworthy because it is comparable in many respects to the Easter Egg Hunt described later in this section.

This track and field meet between the Browning and neighborhood elementary schools was an activity in which children took part without regard to the orientation of their families. It was held at the Browning High School track on a cold, blustery spring day and people of both orientations attended—parents, teachers, and track fans. Informal groupings by family and friends were noted here too, but it was a moving crowd and interaction patterns were hard to identify.

Various other public ceremonies attract participants and on-lookers from all segments of the population, usually on the basis of who has an interest in the particular event scheduled. I recall two such occasions: a ceremony honoring an Air Force contingent from Malmstrom Air Force Base near Great Falls in 1959 and the dedication of a War Veterans memorial by the War Mothers on the grounds of the Museum of the Plains Indian in 1967. Both ceremonies were held on the Museum grounds and drew participants from both orientations—Tribal Councilmen, Honorary Councilmen, the American Legion Color Guard, and in the

A [i.e., White vs. Indian-orientation--Analyst]

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541 [571] latter ceremony, the War Mothers and families of veterans who had died in action.

The Air Force ceremony struck several of us as a test of the time sense of two cultures. Two Air Force generals were to be honored by being given a Blackfeet name and honorary membership in the Blackfeet tribe. The ritual called for a speech by an elderly chief at the conclusion of which he would pronounce the name he was giving the general, and place a war bonnet on the head of the newly adopted tribesman. A second chief would then make the bestowal to the other general. Air Force plans called for a jet plane fly-over as the war bonnet was put on the head of the senior officer. Four members of the Honorary Council, the master of ceremonies and an interpreter, dressed in Indian regalia, stood in an informal group at one side awaiting the beginning of the ceremonies, while to the other an Air Force contingent consisting of the two generals, fifteen full colonels and a captain, and a color guard of a sergeant and five enlisted men, were drawn up in formation. There was much synchronizing of watches on the military side, a relaxed unconcerned waiting on the part of the Blackfeet. The jets were evidently airborne somewhere over the horizon; if there was radio communication between the planes and the group on the ground, I did not see it.

The ceremony began. Air Force participation could be and was done according to a planned time sequence, but no one could predict how long one of the chiefs might choose to speak. Yet even as I was figuring the odds on outcome, the old chief concluded his speech and pronounced the name, the interpreter translated it, the war bonnet went up and the jets came over the horizon, over the group on the ground and out of sight in the direction of Great Falls. Someone, I will never know who, had good medicine.

The War Memorial dedication was a concern of local people and brought together an audience of families of veterans and tribal dignitaries. It marked the success of a drive begun many years earlier by the War Mothers (mothers of war veterans) to raise money for such a memorial, so commemorated too their persistence and hard work. A procession of tribal leaders, some in Indian regalia, the American Legion Color Guard, the Boy Scouts, and the War Mothers was followed by speeches from the Gold Star Mothers and the unveiling of the pylon shaped monument upon which was mounted a bronze plaque inscribed with the names of tribal members who had been killed in action in U.S. wars. Later in the day the War Mothers staged a give-away ceremony in memory of these war dead.

Indian-Oriented Social Occasions

571 The social occasions where most of the participants and spectators are people of Indian orientation include several public, semiprivate and private gatherings. Some are formal occasions while others are informal in their organization. [520] Formal public occasions include the North American Indian Days celebrations at [546] Browning, a Sun Dance held in conjunction with one of these, and periodically [595] scheduled Indian dances. Horse races and stick game gatherings in the outlying [526] communities are frequent forms of public entertainment organized on a less [574] formal basis. The private and semiprivate gatherings are those to which attendance [744]

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

is invited, tacitly or directly, and some of the formal occasions for such congregation are medicine bundle openings, curing ceremonies, song services, and private parties. House to house visiting, gatherings of families and friends, the visiting grouping at the formal public activities, in office buildings and stores, and street corner visiting are kinds of informal private interaction.

The Indian Days celebrations are annual affairs sponsored by the reservation community. The tribal council makes an appropriation to underwrite the celebration, and local businessmen make cash contributions or put up prizes for competitive events. The four day celebration, held in late June or early July, is a reenactment of the traditional Blackfeet summer encampment and advertised widely as a tourist attraction. Families who own tepees are encouraged to pitch them on the encampment grounds and to camp there with their families. Indians from other reservations are invited, resulting in a camp circle of fifty or more tepees formed by local people, visitors from the Canadian Reserves—Blood, North Piegan, Blackfoot and Cree—and from surrounding United States Indian communities—Warm Springs, Yakima, Umatilla, Crow, Gros Ventre, Cheyenne, Assiniboine, Flathead, and Cree, among others. Sleeping and cooking tents are erected behind the tepee circle and upwards of seven hundred people live on the grounds during the encampment. Each family camping on the grounds is paid a cash allowance toward their maintenance and shares in a daily meat or food ration.

The formal program opens with a parade through the main street of Browning and out to the encampment grounds near the Museum of the Plains Indian, a half mile west of town. A regular program of Indian dancing to the accompaniment of singing and drumming by local and visiting singing groups is scheduled each afternoon, and continues long into the evening if the weather permits.

The dancing sessions are interrupted frequently by both planned and unplanned intermission activities—special dance contests, games, and "give-aways." Some of the last mentioned gift giving ceremonies are sponsored by the Indian Days Committee to honor and give gifts to invited guests from other tribes. Others are put on by individuals and families who wish—and are expected—to give gifts in remembrance of a deceased relative, to give a new and significant Indian name to a child in a public naming ceremony, or to honor some other person by a display of generosity in his name. The person to be honored and his family form a procession and pass four times around the dance arena as the singers drum and sing a favored song. A similar procession is formed for the memorial give-away, and a close relative carries a photograph of the deceased relative. Increasingly distant relatives join the procession with each turn. Quantities of gifts are brought in and at the conclusion of the processional, a crier acting for the family calls out the names of those to be given gifts. Occasionally a tepee with furnishings is given, sometimes horses, more usually blankets, cigarettes, and cash make up the gifts.

Another almost regularly occurring part of the program is a ceremony in which distinguished visitors are adopted into the Blackfeet Tribe. These people are given an Indian name and a war bonnet, or other tokens of their new status, by an honored elder. In 1960, Indian Days coincided with the U.S. Governors

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

535 await an audience but start dancing when they feel like it, often whenever a singing group begins to drum. The entertainment rarely follows the schedule, but starts and stops according to the mood of the individual dancers. Some arrive on time, others an hour or two late. Evening dances are or are not held depending upon the weather and the inclination of the dancers, rather than upon the presence of an audience. In fact many dancers show signs of impatience with the tourist onlookers who often invade the dance circle to take pictures. Tourists appear to be a tolerated nuisance rather than spectators to be entertained. The Indian visitors, who understand the dancing and participate at least vicariously, are the more orderly, appreciative and appreciated audience. The point is that the dancing at the encampment is a social and recreational outlet, and for the people involved it is an experience that plays a very important and meaningful part in their lives.

177 186 During these days they are "Indians," doing things that symbolized this identity. They stress social positions of importance among "Indians" that may have little relation to the world at large. People have a special competence here that is recognized by their peers.

484 535 People who own dancing costumes leave the reservation frequently during the summer and fall to participate in similar Indian gatherings held throughout the plains area. Indian-oriented families may be gone for most of the summer, and the anthropologist who stays behind knows that he is missing out on events that are an important part of the lives of these people.

535 In the late fall, winter, and early spring a series of social dances, often coinciding with national holidays, are held at the community halls in surrounding neighborhoods. People from other parts of the reservation are invited or are free to attend. Often people came from neighboring reservations as well.

These dances, at the Heart Butte, Starr School, or other community houses, are usually sponsored by one of the men's societies. Those I attended in the spring of 1960 were scheduled for an early evening start, yet it was usually around nine o'clock before the dancing began. The Grass and Fancy dancers were in costume and Grass, War, and other dances by those in costume were mixed with Owl dances—round dances for men and women partners—in which all could participate whether in costume or not. Here, as in the Indian Days program, time was [431] taken for give-aways—at least one was put on by the sponsoring society to honor guests and others were put on by individuals for varying reasons. At midnight the wives, sisters, and daughters of the sponsoring society members served a lunch to all in attendance, then dancing was resumed to continue until dawn. Newspaper and informants' reports indicated that the dances I attended were typical and that they continue to be held.

535 177 The attendance and participation at these dances confirmed the reports from my sample; those I identified as Indian-oriented were present, while few of the white-oriented people turned out. The crowds (usually estimated from three to four hundred in number) were made up of the same people who had been seen in most constant attendance at the Indian Days programs.

541 The more Indian-oriented communities of Starr School and Heart Butte alternately sponsor horse racing in their neighborhoods almost weekly during the

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

A round dance for couples—everybody is invited to dance whether in costume or not.

A give-away ceremony.

summer and fall. Horse owners and racing fans from many parts of the reservation turn out to visit and watch the horses run. Interregional rivalry is often intense. The fastest horses become well-known so the outcome of the races often turns on the weight and ability of the jockey and the possibility of gaining an advantage at the start. Much time is spent in getting the betting arranged, so that two or three races are about all that can be run in an afternoon.

Stick games are often played after the races, and at Heart Butte the games are a regular part of the year-around weekend activities. A public room arranged

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

for playing the stick game as well as pool and cards was a regular gathering place for the people of Heart Butte until it burned down a few years ago. The weekly stick games have moved to a new location on Badger Creek.

The horse races attract some white-oriented horse fans, but the majority of the crowd is Indian-oriented. Races are occasions for Indian rivalry and above all to enjoy each other's company. The stick games have a regular but more limited following and with few exceptions, players and observers are Indian-oriented.

Song services are meetings of the singing groups and serve both as practice sessions and as forms of social gathering for the people involved. The sessions are usually held in the home of one of the singers, a relative, or a friend. A few kinsmen and friends—young and old, men and women—attend and the evening is spent in singing and drumming old and new songs. The sessions break up at the discretion of the singers and may be followed by a late supper.

Bundle openings and curing ceremonies (according to informant and newspaper reports) are religious rituals to which guests are invited. The reports indicate that those in attendance are always people of Indian-orientation. Some are believers and others are sympathetic but noncommitted members of the participants' families. The activities on these occasions are determined by the ritual of the particular bundle or cure, but involve singing, drumming, prayers and some dancing by selected participants. The owner of the bundle regularly paints the faces of those in attendance as a mark of prayer for their well being. Bundle opening ceremonies are followed by a feast. One such ceremony held at Starr School was described by one of the neighbors:

> The beaver dance given by Jim White Calf was held at the home of Jim and Amy Whitegrass despite the terrific storm and sudden cold. There were many people from Browning out to see this rare dance, that has long been forgotten. Among those attending were Mr. and Mrs. Fish Wolf Robe, Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Horn, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Many Guns and Mary Ground besides the many people of our community. The dance began with the rythmic [sic] beating on hides to certain songs. The bundle was opened by Jim White Calf and Maggie Many Hides. The bundle consists of many skins of useful animals and small birds that are of help to the owner. The beaver for "energy," the otter for "speed," the ermine for "beauty," the swan for "grace" and the little birds for their endurance of the cold in the winter. The people were then painted and eight danced in a most graceful manner. Maggie Many Hides, Mary Ground, Isabelle, Cecile Horn, Mrs Fish, Annie Old Person, Mrs. Tom Many Guns all danced like beavers with sticks in their mouths and hands. The usual meal was served after a monstrous amount of energy was put into the dancing and singing. A delicious berry soup, boiled meat, fried bread and a dessert were consumed by everyone. At the end of the dance one certain lady gets up and dances with little small deer hooves and punches a man in the crowd and it goes on until everyone is dancing. It was a most enjoyable occasion for a grand time was had by all (*Glacier Reporter*, October 12, 1961:6).

This "dance" was "long forgotten" by the reporter and others in the community but not by the bundle-owner and the named participants, several of whom owned or had owned bundles themselves. Here was a gathering of Indian-oriented people conducting an Indian ceremony. Some undoubtedly experienced the deep religious experience of a beaver bundle opening, others had a "grand time" at a "most

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

activities in Browning invite public support.[13] Children from families of both orientations attend and participate; yet very few of the parents who turn out to watch their children perform are Indian-oriented.

The P.T.A. meetings and school commencement exercises I went to were not attended by many Indian-oriented people. No Indian-oriented were seen at two P.T.A. meetings, each attended by from fifty to sixty people. In 1960, twenty-one (over a third) of an eighth grade graduating class of sixty-seven were from identifiable Indian families, yet few Indian-oriented adults were in the audience.

The high school commencement held on the evening of the same day, differed considerably in the nature of attendance. In this instance a class of thirty-three graduating seniors included twenty-five tribal members. Eight of this number (approximately a fourth) could be identified as children from Indian-oriented families. The proportion of Indian-oriented among the seniors was smaller than for the eighth grade class, but more Indian-oriented adults were at the high school commencement, making up an estimated fifth of the audience. Even so, the largest part of those in attendance were white-oriented. Even smaller Indian-oriented attendance was reported for the preceding and following graduations.

The larger Indian attendance in 1960 may have been because the valedictorian was a full-blood boy. I had seen him dancing at the Indian social dances and at the Indian Days Celebrations, and on these occasions he wore a beaded buckskin suit that he had made and decorated himself. He was one of a very few young men who wore their hair in braids. Perhaps some of the Indian-oriented came to the commencement to see an Indian-oriented boy graduate with honors.

Attendance at the annual Easter Egg Hunts and the Fishing Derbies is more indicative. While these affairs are not comparable to an Indian Days Celebration, they are community sponsored, scheduled, recurrent and locally advertised. Children participate regardless of the orientation of their families. Perhaps these events and the previously described track meet are most comparable and the differences in attendance at each most revealing. In short, Indian-oriented parents attended the track meet but did not respond in the same way to the Egg Hunt and Fishing Derbies.

I observed the Easter Egg Hunt of 1960 and arrived too late for this event in following years. As usual it was held in an open field behind the Museum of the Plains Indian on the afternoon of Easter Sunday. The weather was much the same as it was for the track meet held one month later—cold and windy. Approximately five hundred children, from Indian, white, and white-oriented families took part. Children from the Cut Bank Boarding Dormitory were brought

[13] The description of these particular events is restricted to those held in Browning because it is the largest and most heterogeneous of the reservation communities. People of both orientations, local people and residents from the other communities, come to Browning to attend events that interest them. Attendance at similar affairs in outlying communities reflects the orientation balance of the community. Children's activities at Starr School and Heart Butte, for instance, are attended by more Indian-oriented people; similar events at Babb or East Glacier are attended almost wholly by white-oriented persons. Browning differs in that it has quite large populations of people from both orientations; selective turnout here is more significant.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

in by bus; children from Starr School and other nearby neighborhoods came in cars driven by a teacher or parent to join in the search with the youngsters of Browning.

Members of the Browning Youth Club and the American Legion had distributed quantities of eggs, which had been boiled and colored by school children, in the furrows and stubble of the forty acre field. Some of the eggs were marked and cash awards were given to the finders of the special eggs. Prizes, donated by service clubs and local merchants, were given also for the most eggs collected by one child and to the runners-up.

This was a large area and people arrived at irregular intervals. Many watched from their cars, others moved about the periphery of the field, making an accurate count of the adults difficult, but it was apparent that the majority of those present were white and white-oriented people. Indian-oriented parents were few and even the Indian-oriented political leaders were absent.

The Fishing Derbies I witnessed drew a much smaller crowd, approximately two hundred children and sixty adults. The contests are held at a small lake adjacent to U.S. Route 2 a few miles southwest of Browning. The children fish along the shore, while the parents help with putting on bait and removing the fish that are caught. They cheer the children on, visit with each other, set up picnics, and eat. Everybody has a good time when a Fishing Derby is sponsored. An estimated third of the children taking part in these contests were from Indian-oriented families, yet only four or five Indian-oriented adults were in attendance.

In the realm of semiprivate interaction are included civic club meetings and bowling tournaments. The informants and the newspaper reports indicate an almost completely white-oriented participation in these activities.

Civic club membership is selective and based upon business, school, or political leadership. The selection factors are many and complex but it is clear that very few Indian-oriented people belong to these organizations—these are areas of predominantly white-oriented interaction.

Newspaper reports indicate that selective factors operate to maintain a predominantly white and white-oriented participation, particularly in team and tournament play, at the bowling alley. Factors of social selection also work in private gatherings and visiting patterns between families and friends. The bonds of kinship draw some of the Indian-oriented into the visiting patterns of white-oriented people, but these occasions are infrequent. Economic and status factors also appear to be important determinants of Indian-oriented participation in private activities.

Other Social Expressions of Orientation

The social division of the community that I am describing is given overt, but inexact, recognition by the use of the labels—"mixed-blood" and "full-blood." These "racial" stereotypes are used in many contexts but in most cases point up a division in culture that is only partially related to the number of Indian ancestors of any individual.

Ewers remarked on the rapid hybridization of the tribe and the decreasing

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

affairs that attract the Indian audience. Where the social activity contains some symbol of Indian-ness, the Indian-oriented turn out. The Indian Days Celebration, the Indian social dances, bundle openings, stick games, and song services are highly symbolic to the Indian. Consequently, the attendance at these is mainly Indian-oriented. Conversely, white-oriented interest is minimal.

Where the occasions lack continuity with Indian interests, or lack some symbolic aspect for Indian identification, the Indian-oriented fail to participate. In the areas of sociality where mixed audiences were reported, some Indian identification symbols can be recognized. The rodeo, for instance, is directly related to past Indian experience with horses and with cattle raising—a form of white economic activity at which the Indian has achieved some success.

Sports events, too, carry some of the flavor of racing, physical activity and prowess from the past, and again, and probably of more significance, these are areas in which the Indian has been able to achieve a success recognized as such by the members of the dominant society. When viewed in this light, the Easter Egg Hunt stands in sharp contrast to the children's track meet. Sports are given Indian recognition while an Egg Hunt symbolizes nothing Indian. Indian-oriented people turn out to watch their children compete in the track meet but not at the Egg Hunt.

The high school commencement appeared to attract more Indian-oriented persons than did the eighth grade graduation program, but this may be because the high school valedictorian was an Indian. He was a symbol of Indian success in a white man's game, and it was success by an Indian who practiced Indian ways.

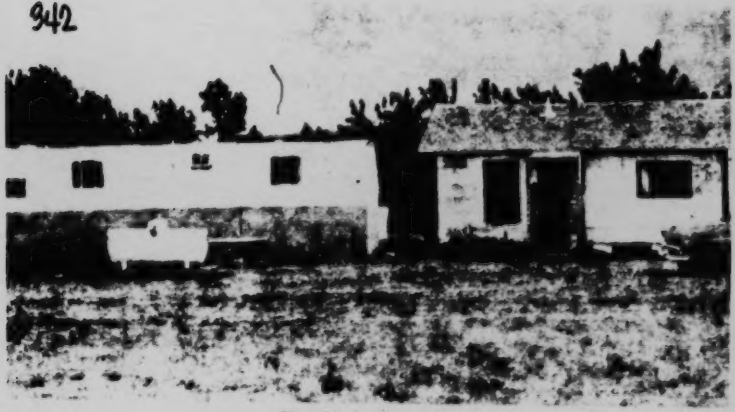
The observed interaction patterns indicate that there are separate social groups. Examination of the values and status systems will further substantiate this relationship and give additional insight into the reasons behind the kinds of participation in community and private social affairs.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

and support and participate in community improvement projects. The leaders of F.F.A., 4-H, Boy and Girl Scouts, and the Youth Club are either whites or tribal members of this class. These people sponsor the Easter Egg Hunts, the Fishing Derbies, local sports events, and often the rodeos. They are not always the leaders, but are the active supporters of community, church, and school enterprises.

Middle status people are active politically. Tribal council positions and a few county elective offices are sought and often won by people of this classification, and they are actively supported or opposed, advised or criticized, by their peers.

People of middle status tend to live in well-constructed, well-maintained



Two kinds of rural housing.

homes. For example, Ray Hawkins, whose annual income was about $3,500, lived with his wife and four children in a four room frame house. It was freshly painted inside and out and the composition roof was in good condition at the time of my visit. There was a fenced yard, with lawn and flower beds, an outdoor fireplace and a picnic table. This house had electricity, inside plumbing with both hot and cold water supplied to the bathroom and kitchen. The interior walls were all lined and painted; the floors were wooden, covered with cotton rugs in the living room and bedrooms and with linoleum in the kitchen and bath. The comparatively large kitchen had built-in cabinets around and over the sink, an electric range and refrigerator, a heavy dining table, and solid wood chairs. There were cotton curtains at the windows. The bedrooms had built-in closets, beds and chests of drawers. The living room was well furnished with a fairly new davenport and living room chairs, each with its antimacassar. There was a coffee table, an ottoman, a piano, table lamps, a record player, and a radio. The windows were draped

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

526 According to the legend, Napi was the winner, and "that is why
[779] there were no buffalo west of the Rockies."[9]

Foot racing was another popular sport among boys and young men. Boys who could run faster than their playmates were proud
526 of this accomplishment. More formal foot races were run be-
561 tween young men of the men's societies during summer encampments. Each society selected its fastest runner. Clad only in moccasins and breechclouts, they ran a course of half a mile or more. The challenged society had the right to determine the distance to be run.

● 541 Most exciting of the series of contests between men's societies
561 during the summer encampments was horse racing. The horse entered by each society had to belong to one of its members. The entries were determined in secret trials held some distance from the camp by each society. Jockeys usually were relatives of the owners—light, adolescent boys who were smart, expert riders. They rode bareback with only a war bridle and whip to control their mounts. The jockeys wore only breechclouts and tied their hair behind their heads to keep it from blowing in their faces.

Presenting a challenge to an intersociety horse race followed a formal procedure. The challenging society selected one of its most successful warriors, who dressed just as he had when he had won a signal war honor and decorated his horse as it had appeared at that time. He mounted, rode around the camp circle to the lodge of the leader of the rival society, sang his war song, lifted his gun, and fired at the lodgepoles just above their crossing. Then he shouted his society's challenge to a horse race. The rival society's leader rushed out of his lodge, gun in hand, and fired into the air, shouting his acceptance of the challenge with some such boast as, "I killed an enemy and I scalped him. You aren't going to scalp me." Later that day delegations from the two societies met to decide upon the time and the details of the race.

541 These were usually match races run over a level stretch of plains near the encampment. Generally the course was about

[9] *Ibid.*, 359.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850]

two to four miles in length. On the day of the race the competing horses were watched very carefully lest a horse medicine man approach one of them and employ his secret formula to cause it to tire or falter in the stretch. The finish line was marked on the day of the race. It might be merely a furrow scraped in the earth across the course or two piles of rocks erected about sixty feet apart by society members who had used rock fortifications to defend themselves against an enemy attack.

Shortly before race time the two competing horses were led to the finish line where the crowd of spectators gathered to look them over and to place their bets. Horses were commonly wagered, the animals bet against each other being tied together and held by a youth. Guns, robes, blankets, and food were other common stakes. A man might wager his pad saddle against another's bow and quiver of arrows. Even painted lodges, together with all their sacred accessories, sometimes were bet on horse races. Men did not wager their wives' possessions. The women bet among themselves. Before race time great piles of articles wagered stood near the finish line.

While the jockeys walked their horses toward the starting point, members of the competing societies drummed, sang their ceremonial songs, and engaged in good-natured horse play. They pretended to re-enact their war exploits against members of their rival society. A man who had scalped an enemy would run up to a member of the rival group, knock him down, and pretend to take his scalp. A man who had captured a horse of the same color as the one entered by the rival society in the race might cry out, "I stole a horse just like that one of yours. I had complete power over it. This horse of yours will be tamed too."

Two men, one from each society, served as starters. The jockeys walked their horses in a wide circle around them. As they came abreast of them, facing the finish, the starters shouted "*Ok'i*" [now], and the jockeys whipped their horses into a run. The race was on.

At the finish line there were also two judges, one man from each society. But usually there was nothing to judge, for the

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

winning horse was often fifty to one hundred yards in the lead. Sometimes one horse played out and was not able to finish. Rarely was it a close race all the way.

After the race the gleeful winners claimed the articles they had won. If a loser protested that the race had not been fair, men of the winning society knocked him down and rubbed dirt or manure on him. With the winning horse in the lead, the victorious society marched back to camp, once around the camp circle, and stopped at the lodge of the leader. The winning horse was entrusted to the care of an old man, who picketed it near the lodge and sang to it. The men of the winning society sang, danced, and rejoiced late into the night.

Members of the losing society might consider this a good time to organize a raiding party in quest of a fast horse from an enemy camp—one that would enable them to turn the tables on their rivals the next summer.[10]

Certainly the fun-loving Blackfeet had no dearth of recreational opportunities, active or sedentary, summer or winter. Nor were their activities confined to the daytime. At night the Indians gathered for social dances. Usually the women sat on one side, the men opposite them, with three or four drummers in the center. As the drummers beat a lively rhythm on their tambourine-like instruments, individuals rose and danced about, bending their knees, stomping their feet, and swaying their bodies gracefully in time to the music.

They whiled away the long winter nights with story-telling. Many of the older men were masters of the art of telling a good story, and their repertory was both extensive and varied. There were myths of the stars, of Napi's amusing adventures, and of the origins of sacred rituals and common customs. There were tales of animals and of the heroic deeds of Blackfoot warriors in their conflicts with many enemies. Some of these stories were humorous, even vulgar; some were educational and inspirational.

[10] Ewers, "Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," B.A.E. *Bull.* 159, 227–34. The popular intersociety horse races ended with the breakdown of Blackfoot men's societies in the 1870's.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

from Christian missionaries. In 1890 the census estimated that "5 per cent of these Indians are Roman Catholics and the others are sun worshipers."[19] Not until three years later was a permanent Protestant mission established on the reservation. Then Rev. and Mrs. Dutcher built a Methodist church on Willow Creek near the boarding school.

Meanwhile, some of the agents charged with the difficult task of reporting the Indians' progress toward civilization were not satisfied with the results they could obtain by example and persuasion alone. They offered bribes or threatened punishments in their efforts to destroy the symbols of the Indians' savage life which were distasteful to them. Disregarding the time-honored American principle of freedom of religion, they directed their attack primarily against the Indians' tribal ceremonial, the sun dance. In 1887 Agent Baldwin ordered members of the Indian Police not to participate in or to encourage this ceremony. He exacted a pledge of each Indian who received a brood mare from the government that he would take no part in the sun dance. Consequently, there was no sun dance the following summer.[20] Major Baldwin also pointed with pride to the fact that he had required all members of the Indian Police to cut their hair and to "abstain from the objectionable habit of painting their faces."[21] Friends of the Indians prevailed upon Washington officials to remove this hostile agent.

Yet, six years later, Captain Lorenzo Cook, another strict disciplinarian, ordered two sun dance lodges used in previous years to be torn down and the timbers used for erecting branding corrals. He prohibited not only the sun dance but "Indian mourning, beating the tom-tom, gambling, and wearing Indian costumes" as well. And he tried to discourage "less pernicious practices such as horse racing." Captain Cook even asked the traders not to stock the paints Indians used for painting their faces.[22] Short

[19] *Report of Indians Taxed and Not Taxed*, U. S. Bureau of Census, 360.
[20] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1888. 151–52.
[21] Mark D. Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1886, Indian Office Records.
[22] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1894, 159.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

dian on dress occasions to create the impression that his hair was long. The Crows also transferred one of their sacred ceremonies, which the Piegans called the "Crow Water Beaver Ceremony." It became so popular that the Montana Piegans taught it to their North Piegan relatives in Canada in 1905.[24]

From west of the Rockies, the formerly hostile Flatheads, Kutenais, and Nez Percés brought cornhusk-and-yarn flat pouches and many well-dressed deerskins and elk hides. In return, the Piegans gave their western friends beautifully beaded men's suits and women's dresses. Piegan women readily acknowledged the superior skill of the Flatheads and Kutenais in dressing skins. By the turn of the century they were obtaining the great majority of the skins employed in their own craftwork in trade or by gift from those overmountain tribes. Very few Piegan women bothered to continue the arduous labor of fleshing, scraping, and softening buckskin.

It was like old times for the Piegans to gather for a few weeks in summer, set up their tipis, take off their white men's somber garments and don their colorful Indian clothes, paint their faces, gamble on horse races and in the stick game, enjoy social dances, and, above all, to experience once again the religious stimulation of the great tribal sun dance. Women made handsome costumes for their menfolk and other fine craftwork for presents to visitors from other tribes. Their rivalry as craftswomen was no less keen than was that of their menfolk, who bragged of their fine herds of horses and their success as cattlemen.

After the Indians spread out along the valleys of their reservation, many of them found it inconvenient to travel south to Badger Creek for their weekly rations. The agent found his headquarters poorly located for administering to the needs of his far-flung Indians. His agency had become an obsolete stockade of rotting logs. So in 1894 the agent and chiefs selected a new site nearer the center of the reservation, on Willow Creek, some two miles from the new railroad. There twenty-two new

[24] McClintock, *The Old North Trail*, 407–10. Describes this ceremony at the time of its transfer to the North Piegans.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

SADDLE HOUSINGS

"When an Indian is going to mount he throws his buffalo robe over the saddle, and rides on it," wrote Alexander Henry of the Blackfoot in 1809 (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, p. 526). This practice was continued until the end of buffalo days. A buffalo robe was folded and placed over the center of the "prairie chicken snare saddle" or the "wood saddle" before the rider mounted. By the time this thick padding was added to the wood saddle the lofty pommel and cantle did not appear so high. The buffalo robe seems to have been the most common housing for frame saddles among the Plains tribes. In recent years Blackfoot women riding the wood saddle or even the stock saddle in Fourth of July parades have thrown a large, trade blanket over the saddle and modestly tucked the pendent ends around their legs to conceal them.

In my informants' youth young men liked to drape a mountain-lion skin over their pad saddles as a housing. This showy skin was arranged so that the animal head fell over one side, the tail the other. Maximilian (1833) observed Blackfoot fondness for mountain-lion skin saddle housings. He noted that the skin was edged with a broad band of scarlet cloth, and that the Blackfoot valued it at a good horse or seldom less than $60. Bodmer's excellent lithograph of a Blackfoot man on horseback illustrates the use of the mountain-lion skin housing at that time (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 107, and Atlas, pl. 19).[84]

MARTINGALES AND CRUPPERS

Martingales and cruppers had both practical and ostentatious value for the Blackfoot. They were used on the travois or pack horse to keep the load from slipping. Men generally used cruppers on riding horses only when traveling in mountainous country to hold the saddle in place. When moving camp or when on parade the favorite wives of wealthy men liked to dress up their horses with showy martingales and cruppers. The prevalence of elaborately decorated martingales and cruppers in the Fourth of July parade at Browning and at the Calgary Stampede in recent years is no indication of their com-

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(Wissler, 1915, fig. 18, p. 17). However, I have found no description of the use of such cloths in the early accounts of these tribes. These elaborately decorated cloths probably were late 19th century developments. The buffalo-skin saddle blanket seems to have been the most common type among the Plains tribes. However, the Plateau tribes, who had less access to buffalo, used saddle blankets of deer, bear, or mountain goat skin, or of woven matting (Teit, 1900, p. 258; 1909, p. 584; 1930, p. 111; Ray, 1932, p. 118; Turney-High, 1941, p. 72).

[84] Maximilian said the Crow followed the same custom (ibid., vol. 22, p. 349). Opler (1941, p. 396) was told that the Chiricahua Apache liked to drape a mountain-lion skin over the saddle bag to make it look nice, and that they followed Mexican example in this practice. Whether the Mexican custom goes back to the Colonial Period has not been determined.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

monness in buffalo days. In former times those objects[A] were indices of their owner's wealth and status.

Bodmer illustrated a fancy crupper on a Blackfoot man's horse in 1833 (Maximilian, 1906, Atlas, pl. 19). However, the earliest pictorial representation of the elaborately decorated martingale and crupper combination I have seen appears in Sohon's 1855 field sketch, "The Bloods Come in Council" (pl. 4).[B] In size and shape the pieces portrayed by Bodmer and Sohon resemble specimens collected in more recent years. Bradley (1870's) stated that the Blackfoot woman's ornamental crupper had a fringe of horsehair to the lower ends of which little bells were attached. In my informants' youth cut buckskin fringes were also used. The ornamental crupper had a soft skin or trade flannel base. It was decorated with beadwork or (if of skin) in angular painted designs "something like a parfleche design." In more recent times (since ca. 1875) floral designs, combined with the double-curve have been employed commonly. Martingales were similarly ornamented (Wissler, 1915, fig. 15; Ewers, 1945 b, figs. 61-63).

Much more common in buffalo days were martingales and cruppers of narrow bands of rawhide, used on the riding horses of both sexes and on pack animals. The martingale was a rawhide band about 3 fingers wide, tied to the prongs of the pommel of the wood saddle by rawhide cords. The crupper was a single or double strip about the same width throughout most of its length, extended by means of a grass-padded loop, strengthened with soft skin binding, under the horse's tail. It was tied to the front or rear horn prongs of the frame saddle with buckskin cord (fig. 16). Some women painted the sur-

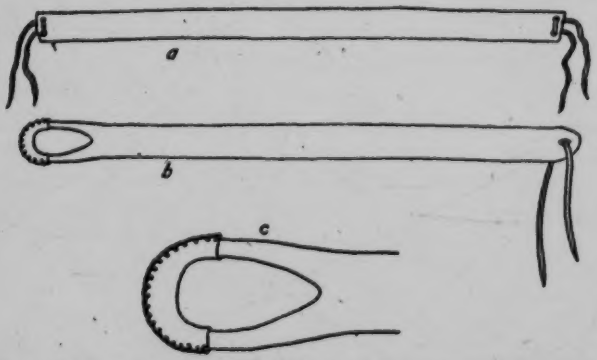

FIGURE 16.—a, Simple rawhide martingale; b, simple rawhide crupper; c, detail of crupper tail pad, Blackfoot.

A [i.e., elaborately decorated martingales and cruppers --Analyst]

B [See category 492, p. 358-C--Analyst]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

lower jaw; both parts were profusely decorated with red, yellow, and blue feathers. We were told that such a headdress as this was, in Indian estimation, worth a couple of horses. [Wilson, 1887, p. 190.]

In the eighties, Frederic Remington, the artist, saw "the equipment of a Blackfoot war pony, composed of a mask and bonnet gorgeous with red flannel, brass tack heads, silver plates and feathers . . ." (Remington, 1889, p. 340). Wissler (1913, p. 457, fig. 29) reproduced native drawings of masks employed in the "riding big dance" by the Piegan.[87]

I have seen a single example of Blackfoot horse headgear. It was a beautiful mask made of a single piece of skin entirely covered with porcupine-quill work, which fitted over the forehead and face of a horse. Holes were cut for the eyes. This specimen, which was probably not over 50 years old, was said to have been used by the Piegan in dress parades. It was owned by the late Mrs. John B. Monteith of Glacier Park Station, who showed it to me in 1942.

BODY PAINT

The Blackfoot favored red paint for decorating the bodies of their horses. Some young men daubed round spots on both hips of their horses solely for ornament. If a man ran over an enemy while riding in battle he was privileged to paint a hand on both shoulders of his war horse. Just before a returning horse-raiding party entered their home camp, its members stopped to paint red, horizontal lines across the foreheads of their stolen horses. Wissler (1913, p. 457, fig. 29) has described and reproduced native drawings of body painting on horses in the "riding big dance."[88]

MANE AND TAIL ORNAMENTS

A Blackfoot on the warpath braided the tail of his horse part way, tied the end of the tail in a knot, and fastened a feather in it with a buckskin cord. Weasel Tail claimed the three Blackfoot tribes, the Gros Ventres, and Sarsi all followed this practice so they could tell their horses from those of their enemies. In the summer of 1942,

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[87] In 1806 Alexander Henry accompanied an Hidatsa trading party to a Cheyenne village. When they neared their destination some of the Cheyenne rode out to meet them on fine horses some of which "were masked in a very singular manner, to imitate the head of a buffalo, red deer, or cabbrie with horns, the mouth and nostrils—even the eyes—trimmed with red cloth. This ornamentation gave them a very fierce appearance (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1, p. 377). Whether the elaborate Blackfoot and Cheyenne horse headgear was in any way influenced by Spanish horse armor is problematical. Certainly the horned feature appears to have been a native invention.

[88] Lewis and Clark noted that among the Lemhi Shoshoni visited in 1805, "a favorite (horse) is frequently painted" (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 563). Teit claimed Flathead "horses were often painted" (Teit 1930, p. 353). An Omaha man "frequently painted his horse to represent a valorous act . . . or in a manner intended as a representation of a vision" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 353–353.)

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

In the summer of 1942, I saw an elderly Piegan tie two feathers in the tail of the horse of a middle-aged man which was to be ridden in the Fourth of July parade at Browning. (This ornament is now in the Denver Art Museum, Cat. No. FB1-95-G.) The old man then said a short prayer that the horse might not fall or throw its rider. This also is said to have been an old Blackfoot custom.*

DECORATION OF WOMEN'S HORSES

A wealthy Blackfoot took pride in providing his favorite wife with fancy trappings for her riding horse, to be employed when visiting neighboring camps or other friendly tribes, and when moving to the Sun Dance encampment. These trappings, including decorated bridles, martingales, cruppers, saddlebags, and the finest painted rawhide containers obtainable, were thought to enhance the woman's appearance on horseback.

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* Lewis and Clark (1805) noted Lemhi Shoshoni practice of decorating the manes and tails of their horses with feathers (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 563.) The Crow claimed they tied up their horses' tails to make them run faster (Marquis, 1928, p. 114). Omaha young men occasionally "decked the manes and tails of their horses with bright ribbons or bands painted in gay colors" (Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, p. 353).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Sun Dance encampment. The neighborhood of the Sweetgrass Hills was a favorite site for the Piegan Sun Dance in late buffalo days, but it was often held at other locations within their range.

When the site was selected, usually at no great distance from where camp was located at the time of selection, the whole camp made four moves on 4 successive days. On the fourth day the site of the Sun Dance encampment was reached. These daily moves were in the nature of dress parades. The Indians wore their finest clothes, decorated their horses with their best trappings, and the men rode with their weapons and shields exposed to view. The medicine woman who had vowed the ceremony rode a travois horse. She was careful not to hang anything on the saddle in front of her. The natoas bundle was carried behind her. The sacred tongues were packed on her travois and on top of them was placed a fringed, rawhide bag holding her ceremonial paints, badger skins, and pipe. The three sticks used later to support her ceremonial bonnet (a part of the bundle) were tied alongside one of the travois shafts.

The Sun Dance was timed to coincide with the ripening of the sarvisberries, or dogfootberries farther east. This was in the month of August. The first sarvisberries were served to dancers in the Sun Dance lodge. Sun Dance ceremonies consumed 8 to 10 days, at the end of which the camp circle was dissolved and the bands separated for the fall hunt.

This summer season usually occupied 2 or 3 months from some time in June to about the beginning of September. It was the only season of the year in which the bands of the tribe camped in one village in the form of a circle of lodges. (See pl. 8.) At other seasons the separate bands did not use the camp circle arrangement of lodges.

FALL HUNTING AND COLLECTING SEASON

In the fall, buffalo cows, whose meat was much preferred to that of bulls, were prime. This was the great buffalo hunting season, when large numbers of animals were killed and quantities of meat were obtained, and when berries were collected and mixed with meat and tallow to make pemmican. Each family endeavored to put up as much dried meat, berries, and pemmican as their winter needs or their means of transportation would permit. It was an active season, during which the number of camp moves was determined largely by the available supply of meat. Obviously camp could not be moved while women were busy drying meat and berries, and making pemmican. During a successful fall hunt stops of a week or longer in one locality were not uncommon. On the other hand, if a band failed to come upon buffalo

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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FIGURE 32.—Construction and use of a child's hobbyhorse, Blackfoot.

Lazy Boy said that by the time Blackfoot boys were 10 or more years of age they abandoned play with toy horses for the more serious and responsible activity of tending their families' horse herds. Girls also had little time for such play after they were called upon to help their mothers with household chores. 883

At the Heart Butte Sun Dance encampment on the Blackfeet Reservation, Mont., in the summer of 1944, I watched three small boys, aged about 10 years, playing at bull dozing and calf roping in imitation of these modern rodeo events. In the game of calf roping one boy played the part of the calf, another the horse, and the third the rider. The horse carried the rider after the "calf." When the rider roped the "calf" he jumped off and bound the "calf's" hands and feet together with a small rope (pl. 12, *B*). In the game of bull dozing the rider attempted to grab the "steer" around the neck and shoulders and wrestle him to the ground. Such play is of recent origin, of course. However, in spirit it is akin to the "horse play" of Blackfoot children in buffalo days. 857

HORSE RACING

David Thompson wrote of the Piegan ca. 1800, "They have also sometimes horse racing, but not in the regular manner; but bets between individuals in running down animals, as the Red and Jumping Deer, or the killing of so many Cow Bisons at a single race" (Thompson, 1916, p. 359). It is possible Thompson had not been in Blackfoot encampments in late summer, the traditional horse racing 541 [525]

A [See category 857, p. 358-K--Analyst]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

541 season. Lazy Boy claimed the Piegan began racing horses in his great-grandfather's time, soon after they acquired their first horses.

175, 541 The earliest description of a Blackfoot horse race refers to one held in the combined Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, Sarsi, and Gros Ventres camp, seen by Paul Kane on June 1, 1848 (Kane, 1925, pp. 295–296). Kane's painting of that race, now in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology, is reproduced as plate 13, *b*.[A] The trader William T. Hamilton briefly described a match race between horses of the Crow and Piegan witnessed by him in 1858 (Hamilton, 1900, pp. 66–68). J. Willard Schultz described a match race between horses owned by Piegan and Kutenai ca. 1878 (Schultz, 1907, pp. 134–136). These descriptions are exceedingly fragmentary compared with the wealth of detailed information on old-time Blackfoot horse racing supplied by my informants.

RACE HORSES

231 541 A winning race horse was the most valuable horse a Blackfoot Indian could own. In trade a fast race horse would bring several other good horses. Nearly all racers were males, either stallions or geldings. Because courses were generally long, horses were not raced until their third or fourth year. Racers were considered in their prime from their fourth to ninth year. After that they would serve as buffalo runners for a number of years. The ideal race horse was an animal of small size and unprepossessing appearance, whose speed and endurance belied its looks. Indians liked to match a horse of this description, whose ability was not generally known, against a large, finer appearing animal, in the hope of encouraging their rivals to bet heavily and to win large stakes for themselves.

Men carefully watched boys riding year-old colts chasing buffalo calves. If they saw a colt that seemed to outdistance the others they examined it carefully. If they thought it had possibilities of becoming a good racer they trained it until it was ready to race at 3 or 4 years. The potential racer was allowed to run with the range herd much of [784] the time. It was not used for general riding or packing. There was a decided taboo against packing meat or getting blood on a race horse.

INTRATRIBAL AND INTERTRIBAL HORSE RACES

541 Although the Blackfoot participated in both intratribal and intertribal horse races in buffalo days those races best remembered, and [648] probably most common, were the ones between two societies of the [575] same tribe. Generally men of the same society did not race against each other, even though several men of a society might own fast horses. [628] Intertribal races were held between the Blackfoot tribes (such as [648] Piegan contra Blood), or between the fastest Blackfoot-owned racer and the swiftest horse owned by a neighboring non-Blackfoot tribe.

A [See category 541, p. 358-L--Analyst]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

INTERSOCIETY RACES

At the Sun Dance encampment in late summer there was keen competition between the various Blackfoot men's societies in games and sports. These included the hoop and pole game, the hand or stick game, foot racing, and horse racing. Although there was no established order for these competitions the horse race generally came late in the series. If, for example, members of one society lost to another in a hand game one evening, they might challenge the winning society to a horse race the following day. Detailed descriptions by five informants (both Piegan and Blood) revealed that the challenge was issued according to a set procedure. The society wishing to make the challenge selected one of its members who had been successful in war. He dressed just as he had dressed when he counted coup on an enemy and decorated his horse as it had appeared at that time. He made a round of the camp on horseback, rode up to the lodge of the leader of the rival society, sang his personal war song, lifted his gun and fired at the lodgepoles just above their crossing. Then he shouted his society's challenge to a horse race. The rival society's leader, upon hearing the challenge, rushed out of his lodge, gun in hand, and fired his weapon in the air, shouting his acceptance of the challenge with some such boast as, "I killed an enemy, knocked him down and scalped him. You are not going to scalp me." The challenger then circled the camp again, stopping at the lodge of the leader of his society to formally report the acceptance of his challenge.

The challenge generally was issued early in the morning. Later that day the leader of the challenged society called a meeting of its members. They chose a delegation to visit the leader of the challenging society in his lodge. At this meeting between leaders of the two societies there generally was a great deal of joking and bantering back and forth before they settled down to the business of discussing detailed plans for the race. Then they decided upon the location and distance of the course, time of the race, the horses to be run, and the starters and judges.

Intersociety races were almost always match races, one horse entered by each society. Weasel Tail recalled one race in which each society agreed to enter two horses with the understanding that the winning horse would win all the bets. The course usually was a fairly level stretch of plain near the encampment, permitting the running of the race on a straightway. However, occasions were remembered when no straight course was convenient to the camp, in which case the race was run from the starting point around a low distant hill and back to the starting point again. In that case two judges, one man from each competing society, were stationed on top of the hill to see that neither jockey took an unfair advantage of the other while rounding

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

575 the hill out of sight of the crowd at the start and finish mark. The
● 541 distance to be run always was measured by eye. The most frequently mentioned straightway distance was "about as far as you could barely see a horse on the open plain." Some courses were longer. Races were recalled in which the horses at the starting point could be seen from the finish only through a spy glass. Generally the distance was from 2 to 4 miles, very rarely shorter. Informants' statements thus tallied closely with Bradley's reckoning (in the 1870's) that Blackfoot horse races generally were run over a course of "three or four miles" (Bradley, 1923, p. 276).

There was a strict rule requiring each horse entered by a society to be the property of a member of that society. Usually each society had held trials some time prior to the race in which the fastest horses were run to determine the intersociety race entrant for that year. These trials were held in secret at some distance from the encampment. On the day of the race the two horses entered were watched carefully by members of the respective societies who were warned to
[789] keep other people away from the competing horses. The greatest precaution was taken to prevent a horse medicine man from coming near the race horses for fear that he might use his secret power to make one of the horses tire or falter in the stretch. (See p. 272, on the powers of Blackfoot horse medicine men.)

541 Informants did not agree on the method of selection of the jockeys. Some said a jockey was selected by the owner of the race horse. Others claimed the society as a body chose the jockey. However, it is clear that jockeys usually were relatives of the horse owners. They were light, thin, adolescent boys or young men who knew how to handle
[291] horses in races. Jockeys usually wore only breechclouts and tied their
[302] hair behind their heads to keep it from blowing in their faces. Gen-
[409] erally they rode bareback with only a war bridle (a two-reined rawhide rope looped once about the horse's lower jaw) and a whip to control the horse.

The finish line of the race was sometimes just a furrow scraped in the earth across the course. At other times it was marked by two piles of rocks, each about 3 feet high, erected some 60 feet apart. Each pile was set up by members of one of the competing societies. They were men who had used rock fortifications in the defense against the enemy.

541 Shortly before the race the two competing horses were brought to
525 the finish line where the crowd gathered to view them and place bets on their favorites. Betting usually was heavy, by nonmembers as well as members of the rival societies. Horses were commonly wagered, the horses bet against each other were tied together and held by some lad. Guns, robes, blankets, and food were common stakes. A man might wager his pad saddle against another's bow, arrows, and

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

quiver. Even painted lodges, together with all their sacred paraphernalia, were bet on the outcome of races. However, the winner of a painted lodge was required to submit to the ceremony of transfer before he could gain possession of that lodge. Even though he won the lodge, he was expected to give the former owner a horse at the time of formal transfer. On the other hand, if it was discovered that the loser of a painted lodge attempted to hold back any sacred article belonging to that lodge, the winner might rub his face in manure and the loser would have no cause for anger. Before race time great piles of articles wagered stood near the finish. A man might risk any or all of his material possessions. Although Wilson (1887, p. 192) claimed the Blackfoot wagered their wives on horse races, both Bradley (1923, p. 276) and my informants denied this was ever done. My informants claimed a man did not bet any of his wife's personal property. Women, of course, bet among themselves.

As the jockeys walked their horses toward the starting point (assuming the race was to be run on a straightaway) members of the competing societies drummed, sang their society songs, and engaged in good-natured horse play, pretending to reinact their coups against members of the rival society. A man who had taken a scalp in war would run up to a member of the rival society, knock him down, and pretend to scalp him. If a man had stolen a horse of the same color and appearance as one entered in the race by the rival society he might cry out, "I stole a horse like that one of yours; I had complete power over it. This horse of yours will be tamed too."

Two leading men, one selected by each society, served as starters. As the jockeys neared the starting point on their way down the course, they walked their horses in a wide circle, side by side, around the starters. As they came abreast of the latter, facing the finish, the starters gave the verbal signal "Ok'i" (now), and the jockeys whipped their horses into a run. Lazy Boy said races sometimes were started by a shot from a gun instead of a verbal signal. The starter, in that case, must have been a man who had shot an enemy in warfare. If the starter lied in his claim to that distinction, it was believed one of the horses in that race would fall.

In order to let the spectators, gathered around the finish, know how the race was progressing, two horsemen, one on a dark- and one on a light-colored horse, each representing one of the competing societies, were stationed at one side of the course about midway of its length. As the racers came abreast of them the horseman representing the society whose horse was in the lead at that point would weave his horse back and forth.

There were two judges at the finish, one representing each society. Usually, however, there was nothing to judge, for the winning horse was a hundred yards or more in the lead. Not infrequently one horse

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

541 played out and was unable to finish. Rarely was it a close race all the
575 way. Then it was the judge's duty to determine the winner. They might agree upon a winner, disagree and start an argument, or declare the race a tie. In the last instance, the leaders of the two societies decided whether or not they would re-run the race that day after the horses had rested for a while, or whether the race would be re-run at some later date.

After the race was ended the gleeful winners claimed the articles they won in the betting. If a loser became angry because he thought the race had not been honest, men of the winning society knocked him down and rubbed dirt or manure on him. With the winning horse in the lead, members of the winning society formed a procession back to camp. They proceeded once around the camp circle to the lodge of that society's leader. There the winning horse was entrusted to the care of an old man, who tied it outside the lodge and sang to it. That night members of the winning society sang, danced, and rejoiced until a late hour. When all returned to their lodges after this post-race celebration the performance was over.

The losing society might challenge the winning one to a foot race or other contest. That challenge was less formal than the horse-race
575 challenge. Members of a society who had just lost a horse race con-
721 sidered it a good time to organize a raiding party in quest of a better
541 horse in an enemy camp—one that would enable them to turn the tables on their rivals the next year. Chewing Black Bones told of the persistent attempts of one society to capture a fast race horse. The action occurred in his youth.

A member of a Piegan society that had been beaten in a horse race told his friends, "I am going to get a horse from the enemy that will beat that winner." He took a big, fast bay from the Crow. But it was beaten the next year. Then
541 he went to the Gros Ventres and captured a little gray horse. When the re-
575 turning party was far enough from the Gros Ventres camp to rest and divide the horses, they raced the horses they had captured. The little gray easily outdistanced all the others. It was small but very fast. Next summer in the secret trials to select that society's race horse, the little gray horse finished far ahead of all his competitors.

At the sun dance encampment this society challenged the one that had beaten them the two preceding years. When members of the rival society saw the little gray they made fun of it. Arrangements for the race were soon made. The society entering the little gray suggested, "Last year you beat us. You set the distance." Their rivals, thinking a long course would tire the little gray horse, proposed a longer distance than was usually run. Most Piegan thought the course was too long for the little gray. Betting was heavy against it. But one old man said, "Don't make fun of that little horse. It is small but it may have great power." The race started. At about the half-way point the jockey on the little gray horse was still holding him back, while his rival on a big bay was whipping his mount hard. Then the rider on the little gray horse gave him the whip. He won by a long distance.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

HORSE RACES BETWEEN BLACKFOOT TRIBES

Lazy Boy described a race between horses owned by a Piegan and a Blood Indian which was run in his youth: 541 628

A Blood Indian who owned a fast race horse named Almost Baldy wanted to challenge Burnt-a-Tree-Down, a Piegan owner of a fast racer, Little Buckskin. The Blood rode up to Burnt-a-Tree-Down's lodge and fired at the lodgepoles above the crossing. Burnt-a-Tree-Down told Big Snake, the camp announcer, to tell the Blood Indian he would race next day. The following morning Big Snake announced the race to the whole camp, which at that time included both Piegan and visiting Bloods. Two men were assigned to arrange the bets. As they were made, the announcer called them out. All bets were between individuals. Horses, guns, robes, and other articles were wagered. Then the contestants agreed upon the course and distance. They raced beside a big lake. About the center of the length of the course were stationed a Blood and a Piegan horseman on a hill. Each had a gun. As the riders passed them the Blood fired his gun as a signal to the watchers that the Blood horse, Almost Baldy, was in the lead. As soon as the gun was fired the Piegan jockey, who had been holding his horse in check, let Little Buckskin go. There were one Blood and one Piegan judge at the finish. But there was nothing to judge. Little Buckskin was far ahead. We Piegans took everything from the Bloods. We were sure happy after that race.

This description indicates that in the intertribal horse races involving only Blackfoot tribes the procedure was like that of the intersociety races, previously described, and with which members of all Blackfoot tribes were familiar.

OTHER INTERTRIBAL HORSE RACES IN WHICH BLACKFOOT PARTICIPATED

Horse races pitting the best Blackfoot-owned horse against the best racer of a neighboring non-Blackfoot tribe were not common in buffalo days, due primarily to the traditional hostility of the Blackfoot toward their neighbors. No detailed descriptions of these races were obtained from informants. Lazy Boy mentioned a race between a horse owned by visiting Nez Percé and the best Piegan racer in which the latter was beaten handily. He thought the Nez Percé horse was the swiftest one he had ever seen. 541 648

The two contemporary descriptions of intertribal races in which the Blackfoot participated are brief. Hamilton (1900, pp. 66–68) witnessed a race between Crow and Piegan in 1858. Betting was heavy in ponies and robes. The course was about a half mile in length. Horses were held at the head by men on the ground until the starting signal was given. Jockeys were boys "stripped naked." Little Dog, the Piegan Chief and a Crow chief were the judges. The Piegan won the race and the Crow "departed soon after the race, sullen and silent. All the young Piegans had a great time dancing and singing that night until a late hour." [525] [291]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Schultz (1907, pp. 134–136) described a match race between a Piegan-owned horse and one belonging to a Kutenai in the summer ca. 1878. The betting was excessive, horses bet against each other being held by some nonbetting boy. The course was a level stretch of about 500 yards. The youthful jockeys, naked except for the breechclout, raced from a standing start across a finish line marked by a furrow scraped across the dusty course. The horses finished in a dead heat and precipitated a fight, both Piegan and Kutenai claiming they had won.

These two cases suggest that intertribal horse races were not conducive to friendly relations between the tribes involved. In most respects the race procedure appears to have been similar to that of the intratribal Blackfoot races. However, the standing start was not typical of the latter races, and the distances run appear to have been shorter than was usual in intratribal races.

LATER HISTORY OF BLACKFOOT HORSE RACING

The popular intersociety horse races ended with the breakdown of the Blackfoot men's societies in the 1870's. Curtis (1911, vol. 6, pp. 20–29) reported that with the exception of the Raven Bearers and the Brave (or Crazy) Dogs all Piegan societies became ceremonially inactive before 1880. In 1894, Captain Cooke, Acting Agent, Blackfeet Reservation, Mont., reported that he had prohibited gambling among the Indians in his charge and had discouraged "other pernicious practices, such as horse racing" (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1894, p. 159). However, this did not put a stop to Blackfoot horse racing. Informants remembered a number of exciting match races in the early years of this century, and McClintock witnessed horse races in the Sun Dance encampment of the Piegan prior to 1910 (McClintock, 1910, p. 278).

In recent years horse races have appeared on the program of the Blackfeet Rodeo at Browning each July. In the summer of 1941, during my residence at Browning, a new oval track was built at the rodeo grounds immediately west of the Museum property. Horse races were held each day of the rodeo. So popular were these races that in succeeding years race meets were held on the same grounds on Memorial Day and again on Labor Day, as well as during the July rodeo period. The spring and fall races were attended primarily by Indians, who showed marked enthusiasm for them. However, the older men among my informants opined that the horses were not as fast as they used to be in their youth. Frank Red Crow had the same opinion of race horses on the Blood Reserve in recent years. "They are too big. Their legs are too heavy."

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

HORSE RACING AMONG OTHER PLAINS AND PLATEAU TRIBES

Although horse racing was an exceedingly popular sport among the horse-using tribes of the West, the literature affords very fragmentary information on this topic.

George Catlin witnessed a Mandan horse race in the summer of 1832. He termed horse racing "one of the most exciting amusements, and one of the most extravagent modes of gambling" of that tribe. His description is barren of factual details, closing with the erroneous thought that "a horse race is the same all over the world" (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, p 143). His painting of the Mandan horse race (U. S. N. M. No. 386416) shows that it was a match race, with two lances set in the ground to mark the finish, beside which stood two judges. Maximilian's treatment of Mandan horse racing was still briefer. He stated simply, they "often practice riding on horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse-racing" (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 291). These comments are fairly typical of the slight assistance offered by the literature in attempting a comparative study of Plains Indian horse racing.

There is sufficient data in other sources to suggest that Blackfoot horse races had features in common with those of other tribes. Members of Crow societies vied with each other in horse racing and athletic contests (Marquis, 1928, p. 196). In the Northern Shoshoni race course "riders often return to the starting point after going around a stick marking the half goal" (Lowie, 1908, p. 197). Kiowa informants' brief descriptions of the horse races of that tribe revealed that the course usually was on level ground, well over a mile in length, either in a straightaway or circling two men at the half-way mark and return to the finish. Kiowa horse races were usually match races. One Kiowa was remembered who possessed the power of the horse medicine man to cause one of the horses to fall or falter and thus lose the race. Everywhere heavy betting seemed to have accompanied Indian horse races.

In respect to the distance of the course, Blackfoot horse racing had more in common with early horse racing in Europe and in the American Colonies than with modern horse racing in this country. In 1740 English races were over a distance of 4 miles and the racing of 2-year-olds was unknown. In the American Colonies 4 miles was the approved racing distance (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1944 ed., vol. 11, pp. 763, 768). It is of interest also that the Tehuelche Indians of Patagonia raced their horses "for long distances, four miles or a league being the average" (Musters, 1871, p. 131). This naturally suggests the possibility of Spanish influence on the distances favored in both Tehuelche and Plains Indian horse races. However, it is not

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

necessary to infer such influence to explain the Indians' preference for long races. Endurance was a quality the Plains Indians required of their war and hunting horses. It should not seem strange that they expected the same attribute of their race horses. Consequently Plains Indian horse races were tests of the competing horses' endurance rather than their sprinting ability. As Ferris noted of Flathead horse races, they "generally terminate[d] in favor of bottom rather than speed" (Ferris, 1940, pp. 95–96).

HORSE SYMBOLISM IN INTERSOCIETY HOOP AND POLE GAMES

The series of competitions between rival Blackfoot men's societies during the Sun Dance encampment included hoop and pole games in which horse symbolism played a prominent role. One society challenged another by sending tobacco to its leader. If the challenged society feared the prowess of the other at this game their leader sent the tobacco back and the challengers presented it as a gift to the sun. If the tobacco was accepted the challenge was also.

The game was played on a level stretch of ground about 30 feet long, across each end of which a log was placed at right angles to the length of the course. Before game time members of one society gathered around the log at one end of the course and sang their ceremonial songs. Men of the other society sang around the other log. Each society selected a member with a brilliant war record who was especially adept at this game to represent it.

The hoop used in intersociety contests was fashioned of the neck cord of a buffalo, burnt and shrunk to make it hard. It was about 3 inches in diameter, with 5 or more spokes and an open center. Each spoke was strung with a different color of large necklace beads. Each color represented a different-colored horse. A red bead symbolized a sorrel, white a white, black a black, copper a bay, yellow a buckskin, etc. The poles were of arrow form with metal heads and feathering, but considerably longer than the war or hunting arrow shot from a bow. On plate 13, *a*, is shown a North Piegan hoop (3.2 inches in diameter) and two poles (34.2 inches long), collected in 1901 (cat. No. 69351, Chicago Mus. Nat. History). My Blood informant, Heavy Head, owned a similar set, made ca. 1907.

The spectators, many of whom had bet on the outcome of the play, lined the sides of the course. They were silent as the two players stepped upon the course. Each competitor (usually one man represented each society, although by mutual agreement each society might enter two men) in turn raised his pole toward the sun and offered a short prayer in such words as, "See me. See this arrow. See how it is painted. That is how my arrow was painted when I killed a Crow. I shall shoot to win because what I say is true." Each con-

[See category 526, p. 358-L--Analyst]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

526 231 178 pole game was a historic modification of a game played by the Blackfoot before the introduction of horses.[72]

SHAM BATTLES

541 [648] In buffalo days Blackfoot warriors on horseback performed sham battles as entertainment for visiting Indians and important Whites. Sir Cecil Denny described the sham battle that followed the making of the Blackfoot Treaty in Canada in 1877, which was so realistic as to cause considerable trepidation among the white officials present.

> The Indians had been in a state of excitement all the morning, and while we were atending to our duties five or six hundred mounted warriors, stripped with the exception of a blanket round the loins and in war paint and feather headdresses, staged a mounted war-dance round our camp. These men armed with loaded Winchesters and on the dead run, circled the tents, their rifles exploding and the bullets whistling over our heads. The blood-curdling whoops accentuated the unpleasantness.
>
> They were only half in fun, and had fear been shown by us it is hard to tell what would have occurred; the sham battle might easily have become one of grim earnestness. [Denny, 1939, p. 117–118.]

Capt. W. P. Clark (1885, p. 68) witnessed a Piegan sham battle in the summer of 1881, which "consisted in circling, charging, shouting, firing of guns etc." Sham battles survived as spectacles in the summer Sun Dance encampments of the Piegan after the end of intertribal warfare. McClintock (1910, pp. 277–278) observed and described this mock warfare in the first decade of the present century.

Undoubtedly these dramatic displays afforded active warriors considerable personal satisfaction in showing off their best horses and their own skill as horsemen as well as their fine costumes and athletic ability. Sham battles were common to many, if not all of the Plains tribes as means of entertaining and impressing visiting Indians and Whites in buffalo days.[73]

[171] [648]

[171] [72] Culin (1907, pp. 420–527) has indicated the very wide distribution of the hoop and pole game among the North American Indians, another suggestion of its antiquity. He does not mention horse symbolism in this game. Ferris (1940, pp. 94–95) said the Flathead employed a small hoop "two or three inches in diameter, having beads of various colors fastened to the inside" in their hoop and pole game prior to 1885. He did not mention the significance of the colored beads.

[73] The earliest reference I have found to a Plains Indian sham battle appears in Alexander Henry's account of his visit to the Mandan in the summer of 1806. "The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their courses along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. . . . On their arrival they performed their warlike maneuvers on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battle axe and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields" (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1., pp. 362–363). George Catlin was much impressed by the sham battles he witnessed during his travels among the Plains Indians. He described a sham battle executed by Crow warriors on their visit to the Hidatsa in the summer of 1832, and made a sketch of one of the participants in full dress mounted on a richly decorated horse. Two years later he saw a similar performance in the Comanche village visited by Col. Dodge's dragoons (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pp. 161–168, pl. 76; vol. 2, pp. 65–66).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

my informants had knowledge of the existence of the horse medicine cult among the North Blackfoot, I obtained no history of that cult.

Older informants said that in their youth some horse medicine men were regarded by laymen of that tribe as possessors of much greater powers than others. Some horse medicine men also were recognized as specialists in the use of horse medicines for specific purposes. There was rivalry between horse medicine men of the three Blackfoot tribes.

Scraping White told of a contest between Water-Old-Man, the noted Blood practitioner, and Berry Eater, a leading North Blackfoot horse medicine man, which took place in his father's time (i. e. probably before 1860). They decided to test their respective powers by racing on horseback over the ice of a frozen river. Members of both tribes placed bets on the outcome of the race. Water-Old-Man rode a buckskin, Berry Eater a sorrel. Neither horse was an experienced racer. Before they started each rider invoked the aid of his medicine. They ran their horses at full speed over the slippery river ice. As they neared the opposite shore, Berry Eater's horse slipped just enough to throw it off stride. Water-Old-Man's horse finished strong, won the race, and the Blood Indians collected their winnings. Probably this was the contest referred to by Wissler (1912, a, p. 111).

TRANSFER OF HORSE MEDICINE POWER

The common procedure for obtaining horse medicine, in the lifetime of my informants (both Blood and Piegan), was for a person seeking this power to go to a recognized horse medicine man and offer him gifts of horses, robes, blankets, money or other valuables, along with a pipe, saying, "I want some of your horse medicine," and naming the use the seeker wished to make of it. If the horse medicine man did not wish to grant the request, either because the payment did not appear adequate or for any other reason, he refused to accept the pipe. Then he sang some of his horse medicine songs to avoid bad luck coming his way because of his refusal. If the horse medicine man accepted the pipe he called all the other members of his village who possessed horse medicine power to a horse dance for the purpose of making the transfer and explaining to the neophyte how to make use of the medicine. If, after receiving the medicine, the recipient should still be doubtful regarding any detail of its use, he returned to the man from whom he had secured the power, made an additional payment and requested further instruction.

Weasel Tail recalled his own failure to obtain horse medicine. His experience furnishes a first-hand account of the transfer procedure:

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Horse medicine was employed by some specialists to influence the outcome of horse races. The medicine was always used to handicap one of the competing horses, never to give a favored horse unusual speed or stamina. This use of horse medicine was always dangerous to the horse medicine man. If the owner of a horse that had lost a race learned that horse medicine had been used against his animal he might punish the medicine man severely if he learned his identity. Yet Wolf Calf, Generous Woman, Ghost Woman, and Head Carrier, the latter a North Piegan, were well known as persons who were notably successful in handicapping race horses through their horse medicine powers. Night Gun said that if the owner of a race horse came to Wolf Calf and asked him to use his medicine against his opponent's horse, Wolf Calf painted a rock with his medicine, prepared the ceremonial altar and placed his rawhide horse upon it. He asked the man, "What do you want to happen to the other horse? Do you want it to fly the track, buck, or kick up?" If the man wished the horse to fly the track, Wolf Calf placed the rock on the rawhide horse's head before continuing his ritual. If he wished it to buck, he placed it on the horse's shoulders; if he wanted it to run a short distance, kick up, and refuse to run, he put the rock on the horse's hind legs. Wolf Calf might also give the jockey of the horse belonging to the man he was helping a willow stick with horse medicine on it, with instructions to touch the other horse with this stick when he was alongside it in the race to make that horse drop behind. If the other horse gained the lead the jockey was to drop the stick in its tracks and that horse would surely falter. Informants credited both Head Carrier and Ghost Woman with use of the medicine-covered-stick method of influencing horse races.

Wolf Calf also was able to assist contestants in other sports. If a young man came to him for help in playing the hoop and pole game, Wolf Calf told him to shout a certain phrase when he cast his pole. His opponent's pole would be sure to strike the ground and break. Wolf Calf gave a foot racer who sought his aid some of his medicine and told him to chew it, rub it on his feet just before the race, always run to the right of his opponent, and he surely would win.

Horse medicine had a number of important uses in war. Wolf Calf sometimes was petitioned to help a young warrior in horse raiding. If Wolf Calf accepted the man's pipe and gift when offered, he gave him a plume from the ceremonial altar and explained, "If you can't get near the enemies' horses take this dirt (from the ceremonial altar) and mix it with water. Dip the plume in the mixture. It will rain, the enemy will stay inside their lodges and you will have no trouble taking their horses." Or he would give the man some plant medicine and tell him to rub it on his rope just before entering the

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

recognized. A good race horse or a buffalo runner was worth several common pack animals. Consequently the best horses had a premium value in trades involving items other than horses. Even more subtle distinctions were made between the worth of two race horses or two buffalo horses. Wealthy men were expected to pay more dearly than were people of modest means.

Live horses were always more valuable to the Blackfoot than were dead ones. These Indians seldom killed horses for food, and then only in cases of dire necessity. The hide, hair, teeth, and other horse products made into useful articles were derived from animals which had died of accidental or natural causes. The number of these items was very restricted in comparison with the great variety of useful articles derived from buffalo.

INFLUENCE ON RECREATION

The prominent role of the horse in Blackfoot children's play during the Horse Culture Period mirrored the importance of that animal in the life of their parents at that time. Children's play of the Pedestrian Culture Period probably tended to imitate the serious activities of their elders, and so differed from that of later children. When boys made and played with wood, stone, or mud toy horses, or pretended to ride boldly on hobbyhorses; when girls "moved camp" with conventionalized stick horses equipped with miniature reproductions of riding and transport gear bearing miniature household equipment packaged and packed according to the custom of their culture, they were pleasantly and painlessly preparing themselves for more responsible participation in a culture in which management and use of horses were important aspects of daily life.

Horse racing probably replaced foot racing as the most popular sport of Blackfoot adults. Buffalo hunting, interband communications, and intertribal warfare in the Pedestrian Culture Period must have placed a premium upon physical stamina and speed of foot. The great Miniconjou chief, One Horn, bragged to Catlin of his former ability to run down a buffalo on foot and kill it with an arrow, as well as his record of having won every foot race he had entered (Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, p. 211). Yet the ability to run down a buffalo may have been fairly common in earlier times, when everyone hunted on foot. As late as the middle of the 19th century Denig (1930, p. 566) noted that next to being a good hunter and warrior men of the Upper Missouri tribes prized "the name of being a good runner (fast and long)." Foot racing survived among the historic Blackfoot in inter-society contests at the Sun Dance encampment, but horse racing surpassed it in popular interest. Stamina, a quality necessary to the

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

buffalo horse, was the greatest asset of the race horse, for the course, as a rule, was a lengthy one. No other horse was as highly prized by the Blackfoot as was the winning racer.

Indirectly the horse influenced other forms of Blackfoot recreation. I have described (pp. 236–238) the introduction of horse symbolism into the intersociety hoop and pole game. The common employment of valuable horses as stakes in gambling must have encouraged interest in other games of chance even though the games themselves may have been known to the Blackfoot in earlier times.

INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL LIFE

During the Pedestrian Culture Period, when men literally stood on an equal footing, class distinctions must have been less marked than in historic times. The cooperative hunt was an organization of near equals in which the kill was equally divided among participating families. Limited transportation facilities inhibited the accumulation of property and militated against social stratification based upon wealth. Undoubtedly individuals who achieved outstanding war records or possessed supernatural powers to call the buffalo (beaver bundle owners), to cure the sick, or to perform acts of magic attained positions of distinction and leadership which ranked them above the average man.

After the introduction of horses permitted the accumulation of property, social status came to depend less upon a man's physical and mental qualities and more upon the number and quality of his possessions. A class system began to develop in which there were rich, middle-class, and poor families, distinguished primarily on the basis of their relative wealth or poverty in horses.

The rich man owned not only the most horses but generally the best ones as well. Wealth in horses permitted rich men to care for and use their animals so as to increase their numbers and enhance their value. Rich men owned the largest and best-furnished lodges, the finest clothing, and the most sacred and valuable medicine bundles. They also enjoyed certain privileges denied the other classes. They had the widest choice of mates in marriage and could take the most wives. They could even get away with murder by presenting horses to relatives of the deceased man. On the other hand, the rich man was expected to accept responsibilities which men of the other classes did not shoulder. He was expected to assist the poor through gifts of food and horses and loans of horses for buffalo hunting and moving camp. He was expected to be generous in his hospitality and liberal in his barter with others. Probably no one was more genuinely disliked by the majority of the Blackfoot than the stingy man of wealth.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Indian pony gradually was replaced by larger and stronger animals resulting from the breeding of white men's work horses with the Indians' stock.

Nevertheless, the continuity of Blackfoot culture was not entirely broken by the cultural revolution that followed the disappearance of the buffalo and the abandonment of the nomadic, hunting existence. In the 1940's, six decades after the buffalo were gone, the influence of the Horse Culture Period of buffalo days survived. Survivals were noticeable in Blackfoot work habits, their concepts of wealth, their recreation, social relations, and ideals.

After the buffalo were gone the Blackfoot took readily to cattle raising but showed little interest in or aptitude for farming, which involved techniques and procedures alien to their experience. In the 1940's Agricultural Extension Agents on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana recognized that the successful Indian farmers were persons of considerable white admixture. The fullblood group showed little interest in settling on the irrigated projects to grow crops. Fullbloods still preferred to make their living by raising livestock, primarily cattle and sheep. This preference is traceable to the tribe's generations of accumulated experience in the care of horses and its lack of crop-growing traditions.

I have pointed out (p. 30) the survival of the concept of wealth in terms of horse ownership among the older fullbloods on this reservation, even though horses in the 1940's had relatively little monetary value. This is definitely a survival from the days when individual wealth was determined primarily in terms of horse ownership.

I have also (p. 234) referred to the survival of interest in horse racing, long a favorite sport among the Blackfoot. In fact their ready acceptance of the entire rodeo complex may be attributed to their background of appreciation of skill in the handling of horses.

There remains an appreciation of the value of ceremonial bundles among the Blackfoot which is out of all proportion to the function of those bundles in the religious life of these people in modern times. A number of bundle owners have neither the knowledge nor the desire to use these sacred bundles ceremonially. Yet they are reluctant to part with them, mindful of the fact that their former owners prized them as equivalent in value to many horses. The horse medicine cult, though limited in function, still holds a respected position in the religious life of the fullbloods.

Blackfoot social relations are still marked by the dependence of poor relatives upon tribal members who have achieved a degree of economic success. This drain of the "have-nots" upon the "haves" has the effect of limiting the economic progress of ambitious indi-

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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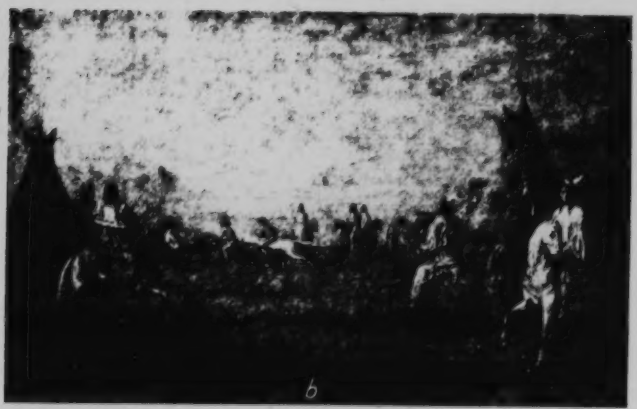

b

a, Beaded wheel and arrows used in the hoop and pole game, North Piegan. (Collected by R. N. Wilson in 1901. Chicago Museum of Natural History No. 69351.) b, Blackfoot horse race, June 1, 1848. (Painting by Paul Kane. Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology.)

[p 358-L]

177 People say that if you can get the support of a few key people you
184 can be assured of the "full-blood vote," indicating the belief that
666 kinsmen will vote with their family leaders.
602

Church Services

177 People of both orientations attend church services according
184 to individual interests and needs. Leaders of the different
797 denominations actively proselyte among both unaffiliated people and the membership of the other churches. Interest in church attendance appears to follow the patterns indicated in the responses of the members of the probability sample, where only three of the Indian-oriented and four of the white-oriented reported regular church attendance.

Funerals

177 From reports, funerals were attended by family and friends,
184 and in this context kin ties and the personal characteristics of the
764 deceased were more influential than cultural orientations in decisions as to whether or not to attend.

Rodeos and Sports Events

177 Rodeos and sports events were occasions for the largest
184 gatherings which included relatively equal attendance and participation
541 by people of both orientations. The rodeo attracted the largest crowds. These were public events open to all and were given wide publicity; the participants were largely local people and were drawn from both orientation groups.

177 Members of the sample and their friends were seen in attendance
184 at three rodeos held during the summer of 1960. It was possible to
541 conclude that the rodeo appealed to many people and that they turned
out on these occasions regardless of cultural orientation.

[602] The informal grouping in the stands and around the grounds appeared to be based on family and friendship ties. Families--parents, children, and grandchildren--sat together. People apart from their families sat with their friends. The cultural orientations appeared to operate in the smaller groupings that made up the larger crowd.

177 The sports events drew smaller numbers of people than did
184 the rodeos, but the nature of participation and attendance was similar.
526 One such event, an elementary school track meet, appeared particularly noteworthy because it is comparable in many respects to the Easter Egg Hunt described in a later section.

The track and field meet between the Browning and neighborhood elementary schools was an activity in which children participated without regard to the orientation of their families. It was held at Browning, out-of-doors, on a cold, blustery spring day. People of both
[602] orientations attended--parents, teachers and track fans. Informal groupings by family and friends were noted here too, but it was a moving crowd and more difficult than the rodeo to assess in terms of informal family and friendship groups.

Social Occasions with Predominant Indian-Oriented Attendance

177 The social occasions at which it was observed that the partici-
184 pants and spectators were predominantly people of Indian orientation
541

177 included public, semiprivate and private gatherings. Some were
184 formal occasions while others were informal in their organization.
571 Formal public occasions include the North American Indian Days Celebrations at Browning, a Sun Dance held in conjunction with one of these, and periodic Indian dances. Horse races and stick game gatherings in the outlying communities were frequent public entertainment organized on a less formal basis. The private and semiprivate gatherings are those to which attendance is invited, tacitly or directly, and some of the formal occasions for such congregation would be medicine bundle openings, curing ceremonies, song services and private parties. House to house visiting, gatherings of families and friends, and the visiting grouping at the formal public activities, in office buildings and stores, and street corner visiting are called informal private interaction.

North American Indian Days Celebrations

177 The Indian Days celebrations are annual affairs sponsored by
184 the reservation community. The Tribal Council makes an appropriation
●541 to underwrite the celebration, and local businessmen make cash contributions or put up prizes for competitive events. The four day celebration, a re-enactment of the traditional Blackfeet summer encampment, is advertised widely as a tourist attraction. Families who own tepees are encouraged to pitch them on the encampment grounds
[574] and to camp there with their families. Indians from other reservations are invited resulting in a camp circle of fifty or more tepees formed by local people, visitors from the Canadian Reserves--Blood, North Piegan, Blackfeet and Cree--and from surrounding United States Indian

177 communities--Warm Springs, Yakima, Umatilla, Crow, Gros Ventre,
184 Cheyenne, Assiniboine, Mandan, Flathead and Cree, among others.
541 Sleeping and cooking tents are erected behind the tepee circle and
[574] upwards of seven hundred people will be living on the grounds during the encampment. Each family camping on the grounds is paid a cash allowance toward their maintenance and shares in a daily meat or food ration.

The formal program opens with a parade through the main street of Browning and out to the encampment grounds near the Museum of the
[535] Plains Indian, one-half mile west of town. A regular program of Indian
[533] dancing to the accompaniment of singing and drumming by local and visiting singing groups is scheduled each afternoon, and occasionally continues during the evening if the weather permits.

The dancing sessions are interrupted frequently by both planned and unplanned intermission activities--special dance contests, games,
[431] and "give-aways." Some of the last mentioned gift giving ceremonies are sponsored by the Indian Days Committee to honor and give gifts
[553] to invited guests from other tribes. Others are put on by individuals
[556] and families who wish, and are expected, to give gifts in remembrance
[554] of a deceased relative, to give a new and significant Indian name to a child in a public naming ceremony, or to honor some other person by a
[533] display of generosity in his name. At the 1959 celebration two Chiefs had the singers sing their respective power songs and then gave gifts to friends and visitors.

[648] Another almost regularly occurring part of the program is a ceremony in which distinguished visitors are adopted into the Blackfeet

177 tribe. These people are given an Indian name and a war bonnet, or
184 other token of their new status, by an honored elder.
541 The encampment also provides the opportunity for other forms
[648] of social expression. People visit from tepee to tepee, drink coffee,
[574] eat and talk. By mid-afternoon a stick game or two gets under way near one of the concession booths behind the tent circle and usually continues until dawn. Other periods of time are spent doing the chores of camp living and in the pastimes appropriate to sex and age--the children play games, older people work on costumes, play blackjack, visit, loaf, or go into town.

In spite of this being a community enterprise, and the fairly large crowds that are attracted to it, the people in relatively continuous attendance are the Indian-oriented. The people who camp on the grounds and participate in the festivities are those identified as Indian-oriented. The onlookers can be sorted quickly into four categories: (a) Indian-oriented spectators from many parts of the reservation who spend much time on the grounds and can be seen in attendance day after day, (b) a number of people recognized as of white-orientation who make a brief appearance, spend an hour or two watching the proceedings and then leave, (c) a few white-oriented people, who because of special community roles and interests have reason to be in attendance more frequently, and (d) a changing tourist attendance of twenty-five to one hundred persons who spend varying amounts of time enjoying the spectacle.

Sun Dance

177 The last Sun Dance (1959) was held in conjunction with that
184 year's Indian Days. The religious ceremonies were held on the
796

177 few of the white-oriented persons turned out. One white-oriented
184 informant went with us to one of the dances at Starr School and remarked
535 that this was the first time she had attended an Indian dance indoors.
The crowds (usually estimated from three to four hundred in number)
were made up of the same people who had been seen in most constant
attendance at the Indian Days programs.

Neighborhood Horse Races and Stick Games

177 The more Indian-oriented communities, Starr School, Heart Butte,
184 Little Badger and Two Medicine, alternately sponsored horse racing in
541 their neighborhoods. These were almost weekly affairs during the
summer and fall, with those at Heart Butte the most frequent. Horse
owners and racing fans from many parts of the reservation turned out
to visit and watch the horses run.

[524] Stick games were played after the races, and at Heart Butte
the games were a regular part of the year around weekend activities.
[529] A public game room was operated by one of the residents and an area
in this room had been arranged for playing the stick game. This was
a regular gathering place for the people of Heart Butte and drew a
few visitors from other parts of the reservation.

The horse races attracted some white-oriented horse fans, but
the majority of the crowd was Indian-oriented. Races were occasions
for Indian people to get together to enjoy the races and each other's
[524] company. The stick games had a regular but more limited following
and with few exceptions, players and observers were Indian-oriented.

177 In 1960, twenty-one (over one-third) of an eighth grade graduating
184 class of sixty-seven were from identifiable Indian families, yet few
872 Indian-oriented adults could be seen in the audience.

177 The high school commencement held on the evening of the same
184 day, differed considerably in the nature of attendance. In this
873 instance a class of thirty-three graduating seniors included twenty-five tribal members. Eight of this number (approximately one-fourth) could be identified as children from Indian-oriented families. The proportion of Indian-oriented among the seniors was smaller than for the eighth grade class, but more Indian-oriented adults were at the high school commencement. Indian-oriented persons made up an estimated one-fifth of the audience, so the largest part of those in attendance were white-oriented. Even smaller Indian-oriented attendance was reported for the 1959 and 1961 graduations.

The larger Indian attendance in 1960 may have been because the
[292] class valedictorian for that year was a full-blood boy. He had been seen dancing at the Indian social dances and at the Indian Days Celebrations, and on these occasions he wore a beaded buckskin suit
[302] that he had made and decorated himself. He was one of a very few young men who wore their hair in braids. The Indian-oriented came to the commencement to see an Indian-oriented boy graduate with honors.

177 Attendance at the annual Easter Egg Hunt and the Fishing
184 Derbies is more indicative. While these affairs are not comparable
541 to an Indian Days Celebration, they are community sponsored, scheduled, recurrent and locally advertised. Children participate regardless of
[526] the orientation of their families. Perhaps these events and the

177 previously described track meet are most comparable and the differences
184 in attendance at each most revealing. In short, Indian-oriented
541 parents attended the track meet but did not respond in the same way
[526] to the Egg Hunt and Fishing Derbies.

The Easter Egg Hunt of 1960 was held in an open field behind the Museum of the Plains Indian on the afternoon of Easter Sunday. The weather was much the same as it was for the track meet held one month later--cold and windy Approximately five hundred children, from both Indian, white, and white-oriented families took part. Children from the Cut Bank Boarding School were brought in by bus; children from Starr School and other nearby neighborhoods came in cars driven by a teacher or parent to join in the search with the youngsters of Browning.

[575] Members of the Browning Youth Club and the American Legion had distributed quantities of eggs, which had been boiled and colored by school children, in the furrows and stubble of the forty acre field. Some of the eggs were marked and cash awards were given to the finders of the special eggs. Prizes, donated by service clubs and local merchants, were given also for the most eggs collected by one child and to the runners-up.

This was a large area and people arrived at irregular intervals. Many watched from their cars, others moved about the periphery of the field, making an accurate count of the adults difficult, but it was apparent that the majority of those present were white and white-oriented people. Indian-oriented parents were few and even the Indian-oriented political leaders were absent.

The Fishing Derbies drew a much smaller crowd, approximately two hundred children and sixty adults. The contests were held at a

177 small lake adjacent to Highway No. 2 a few miles southwest of Browning.
184 An estimated one-third of the children taking part in these fishing
541 contests were from Indian-oriented families, yet only four or five Indian-oriented adults were in attendance.

SemiPrivate and Private Interaction

177 In the realm of semiprivate interaction are included civic
184 club meetings and bowling tournaments. The informants and the newspaper reports indicate an almost complete white-oriented participation in these activities.

[575] Civic club membership is selective and based upon business, school or political leadership. The selection factors in operation are many and complex but it is clear that very few Indian-oriented people belong to these organizations; that these are areas of predominantly white-oriented interaction.

[526] The bowling alley was completed after the field work was
[529] finished, so the conclusions about its use are based on newspaper reports.[175] They indicate that selective factors operate to maintain a predominant white and white-oriented participation, particularly in team and tournament play.

[574] Factors of social selection also work in private gatherings and visiting patterns between families and friends. The bonds of kinship draw some of the Indian-oriented into the visiting patterns of white-oriented people, but these occasions are infrequent. Economic and

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[175] Bowling news in The Glacier Reporter, op. cit., beginning with Vol. 30, No. 31, October 6, 1960, p. 6, and subsequent issues.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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all night to the songs of the sacred tobacco, which is planted in the first light of dawn.

With fertility ensured for the coming year by these ancient ceremonies, all return to work. The old want money to buy a gift blanket for the Sun Dance late in June. The young are more interested in a projected trip to the Calgary Stampede in July. Consequently, the agency staff, the stock-men, and the farm instructors are besieged with offers to paint houses, mend the roads, and repair culverts. Certainly, weeds must be ploughed under by the farmers for their summer fallow. The winter calves must be branded, the males castrated, the dry cows segregated, and the entire herd placed on display for cattle buyers.

In June, as the men finish these tasks, painted tipis are inspected, and strange wagons roll up dust clouds along the roads. Bloods from Cardston, Piegans from Brockett, and Crees from Hobbema arrive to watch the Blackfoot Sun Dance. On a quiet flat by the river the traditional circle camp is formed; the preliminary society dances begin. The old people are the chief participants, for the young, desirous of having money to spend and attentive to their crops, are still too busy at their jobs. Besides, young persons feel quite ill at ease in these ceremonies. They do not know the procedure, so fear to make spectacles of themselves with some crude blunder. With school teachings still fairly fresh in their minds, they are confused by the conflicting pronouncements from the mission schools and the awesome Blackfoot elders. Consequently, they prefer to watch outside the Sun Dance Lodge while their fathers dance within. On the last day of the camp the children, released for the summer from the boarding-schools, spend a restless night in the strangeness of a tipi or tent.

On that last day five dollars is paid out to each person by the Canadian government, in accordance with the terms of the Blackfoot Treaty. Forthwith, most of the Indians disappear from the reserve. By train, automobile, and wagon a large, gay group takes the highway westward to the Stampede grounds at Calgary. For one hot week, as their older brothers ride bucking horses, the schoolboys, cheeks sticky with sweets, wander the Midway wide-eyed at the spectacle of Al Capone's armoured car or the living woman without a head. Their parents, with the girls and little ones close at hand, visit friends from other reservations, show off their handwork to

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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tourists, and occasionally carouse. The more conservative Indians eschew the Stampede. Forming a caravan of wagons "like old times," they proceed slowly to the Blood reserve. They pitch their tents on the gentle slope before Belly Butte to witness and rejoice in the Sun Dance of the Blood Indians.

By the end of July most have returned to the reserve. Food boxes empty and money gone, they must again turn to earning a living. Clusters of tents where a man and his brothers have joined to mow the prairie grass and haul it to the stock farm for feeding the calves in the coming winter are pitched for two or three weeks across the highlands of the reserve. It is hard but not unpleasant work. Saturday is pay-day. Immediately a hand game starts in one of the tents; night and day the whole week-end the drum-throb resounds with brief intermission across the range. On Sundays a big crowd from all over the reserve convenes for horse-races on a great plain where the men bet down to their last quarter on the bay or sorrel.

In the meantime others are busy stacking the bundles of rye and oats behind the mowers, happy in their luck to have the crop cut before it was destroyed by a sudden hail-storm. By September when the children have returned to the schools, the wheat is ready to harvest. Farmers eagerly await the threshing machine, so their crops may be finished early. Others are charged with moving the main herd of cattle to the winter feeding ground, while a lowing mass of calves is prodded into the corrals for wintering.

With farm work done, a tide of workers flows to the coal-mines. Some bring their families and move for the whole winter into the village of shacks that lies on the flat before the mine shaft. Others leave their families behind and don the miner's cap for a few weeks only. In full production scores of loads weigh in each week and are driven off to town. After work on Saturdays some people go to the movies in town, though many remain, crowding thirty or forty strong into one of the houses for a Deer Dance or a hand game.

By the time the first flurries of snow blow in from the west, the old people are settled in one of the clusters of log houses along the river. There, with rations, occasional money from the slaughter of a beef, and near to wood and water, they pass the winter with congenial friends who listen again to stories of a war party to the Crows. Certain younger man, hankering after a pool game in town, a bottle

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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particular owner. To possess a large herd of horses is today still a sign of opulence. In 1939 there were 1,650 head of horses owned by 154 Indians. These horses may be divided into two categories: (1) Draft horses which are bought by the agency with trust funds and given out to farmers and old people. These have no commercial value in themselves because they are restricted from sale or change of title by agency regulations. (2) Horses which have been purchased by an Indian or given to him independently of the agency. These consist mostly of light, unbroken horses which have been acquired probably through the intra- or inter-reserve system of horse trading and gift-giving. An Indian is free to handle these animals as he wishes.

Eleven Indians are raising horses on a more or less major scale for commercial sale. The range mares are bred with blooded stallions, the colts allowed to run wild for two years, and then broken to saddle or harness. Such horses usually bring at least $50 each. With a 25 per cent annual increase in the herd and a herd of 50, a man could expect a minimum gross income of about $600. Frequently these horses bring more than $50. The income from horses has been about $5,000 per annum during the past few years, so that at present these eleven Indians have a fairly substantial business. There is a considerable potential industry here, if the reserve could supply its own work horses, unless draft horses were supplanted by tractors. In 1939, $1,000 was spent buying horses from three of these raisers for the use of the farmers. This trend has been encouraged by the purchase of blooded stallions with trust funds in an effort to increase the market price of reserve horses. The limits of this type of enterprise are set in part by the available pasture; yet there is a genuine interest here, for the raisers themselves are eager for fine stock. They have been known to pay a white man several hundred dollars for a good horse, part thoroughbred, with a special eye, however, to its racing capacities.

Old range animals are also sold for $10 to $20 to farms near by as meat for foxes. A few young men are good riders and have made several hundred dollars by bronco riding at neighbouring stampedes and rodeos. The latter is a popular, though not very lucrative, occupation.

(3) *Miscellaneous sources of income.* One of the few remaining sources of income for the Blackfoot which continues from buffalo days as a portion of the indigenous cultural fabric is the fee to the functionary who directs religious ceremonials. This may well be

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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the seven whose incomes we inspected no change of property through this channel occurred.

A funeral brings with it certain distributive features. First, to prevent the bereaved from hurting themselves, many people must be present at all times in the days after the death. They must be generously fed, for generosity is important at all times. Then the grave-diggers are given something for their services. After interment all property is disposed of. The terms of the will are carried out, though they are concerned with only a part of the possessions given away. A house is literally cleaned of everything in any way valuable. People take what they wish, and the personal property of the deceased may be burned, especially at the death of a wife or husband. If a woman dies, the farm implements are kept for the widower by some close relative to prevent their being given away. If a man dies, his farm implements are either willed to a relative or, in case of no will, are given away to a kinsman. When everything is gone, the nearest relatives are expected to care for the bereaved and at the suitable interval of time give them new clothing, blankets, and food with which to start life over again.

Only one of the seven whose expenditures we investigated[1] was influenced by death; the deceased was his father's sister. Our informant took care of the old lady before her death, and others helped to buy groceries. No mention was made of property being received at death, and it is probable that she had little or none to dispose of. Only occasionally is death important as a means of distribution.

Outside the family an important system of distribution is gambling. This takes four main forms: hand game, pool or "snooky," poker, and horse racing. The hand games occur most frequently, particularly where many families congregate, as at the hay camps or the mine village. It is difficult to estimate how much changes hands through the course of an evening; we have heard of individuals winning $30 in an all-night session. More often the gain or loss is $2 to $5.

Pool or "snooky," played by young men in the village pool hall, draws bets of 10 to 50 cents from the participants. Spectators may also enter the game via side bets, or novices may be lured into betting high stakes by a display of ineptness on the part of an expert who later will play in his true form to snare the sucker.

[1] Cf. Appendix B.

A [See category 434, pp. 191-194--Analyst]

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525 524 Poker, another importation, consists simply in dealing and showing the cards. There are no changing of bets, raising, or wild cards, characteristic of the white game. It is a grim, silent gambling game with little social pleasure where in an hour with several dozen hands one may win or lose a week's wages.

● 541 525 Horse racing is seasonal, occurring only in late summer. As with most Indian betting, two groups make up equal pots, and only two horses race at one time. Those betting on the winner take all the money. Relatively little changes hands through this means because of the infrequency of horse racing.

525 In general the thing distributed in gambling is money. However, articles of clothing, watches, and knives are not infrequently seen in the pot.

574 431 Visiting constitutes another form of distribution, and there are two distinguishable kinds: visiting on the reserve and visiting off the reserve. Visits between neighbours whom one sees frequently usually involve no exchange. A visit from a seldom seen friend or relative requires a gift. Occasionally, the person who anticipates the making of a visit may bring a gift with him so that there may be an exchange. The articles exchanged in these circumstances are usually clothing, blankets, and small articles of furniture. On one visit of an unexpected sort an Indian and his grandson stopped at a house for fifteen minutes; they came out with a wagon for the grandson.

Visiting the Blood, Piegan, or even Crow reserves differs in that there should always be an exchange of gifts, but the host should give more than the visitor who, being away from home, cannot have so much with him. This rule, however, is modified by the relative wealth of visitor and visited. It is felt, especially when Blackfoot visit poor relatives, that the Blackfoot are on the average wealthier and should give very generously. Certainly considerable property changes hands despite the dearth of cash. People prepare themselves weeks ahead for a visit by saving meat or money for the purchase of blankets and clothing. While at another reserve, Blackfoot frequently "help out" with groceries. There is a mild competition in the long run between reciprocating visitors, and at departure gossipers check over the situation carefully.

As a result of this gift-giving and display of generosity particularly towards the favourite visiting spot, the Blood reserve,

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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family as sons, fed, clothed, cared for, accorded honourable status, and often given a horse as extra reward at the end of the year. The chief thus gave young men a start, so that they could begin building their own herd of horses. The chief's tipi or house was constantly filled with people, neighbours, visitors from other bands or even from other tribes, all of whom would be provided with food and drink, a token of hospitality and generosity that was expected to be bounteous. Gatherings to plan work always took place in the chief's dwelling with a bowl of tea and a smoke. Indeed, were not sufficient provided, a chief might jeopardize his standing by being termed "stingy," a calamity for all, if true, in view of the chief's obvious function as dispenser for his band.

Though maintaining order was considered to fall within the chief's province, actually in the days before treaty he intervened rarely in the settlement of private disputes. When the Mounted Police assumed the role of keeping intra-tribal peace, a peculiar change occurred. The whites, taking for granted that judicial activities are functions of organized government, invested the chief with greater local authority than he had previously held. At the same time he was made definitely subordinate to the agent and the Mounties in other regards. Serious offences such as murder and horse-stealing, formerly left to the individuals to settle, were now under the jurisdiction of the white courts. As had always been the case, certain minor band frictions continued to be settled by action of the chiefs. At the Sun Dance, for instance, the boys of the east end and west end camps opposed each other in a sham battle using as weapons mud balls hurled with vicious speed from the end of a stick. When affairs became too serious, chiefly authority always intervened to stop the battle. On the reserve, however, new cases now entered the chiefly jurisdiction. When relatives disputed over the ownership of a horse, the chief, instead of the individuals involved, began to settle the dispute. When a young wife was accused of adultery and horse-whipped for the offence, the whites expected the chief to intervene. Instances are told that emphasize this—Eagle Ribs, on retiring from his chiefly duties, was asked by the agent to continue his surveillance in order to maintain order; a judge, before sentencing an Indian, rebuked the latter's band chief in open court for not keeping better order. Thus developed an expansion of chiefly duties mostly at the expense of individual autonomy and at the same time the placing of final authority in the hands of the whites. This arrangement was largely a matter of

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LUPINES

Lupinus spp.

Lupines (Fig. 21) called "wolf turnips" by the Blackfoot, were used as incense in the Ghost Dance. (This was not the rivivalist movement dance of recent times.) The ceremonialist who was sponsoring it chewed the leaves of a lupine before he undertook any face painting. He did so to reinforce his powers.

YELLOW ANGELICA

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Angelica dawsonii S. Wats

This is probably the most interesting of all the plants of religious use. The root, a religious power medicine, was called sau-gas-sim, it was also used medicinally. There are three ways in which Angelica (Fig. 22) was [777] used: for luck in games of chance, for individual power by ceremonialists and diviners, and for collective power in designated societies. The [782] harvesting of the root was the same in all cases: those responsible for [285] gathering it would first pray; the root was dug while more prayers were sung; and the newly dug roots were tied to a circular piece of rawhide by means of a thong, which was laced through holes along the rim. The roots were kept there until needed.

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For luck, the root was used in horse-racing and in the hand game. In the horse race, the root was tied in a small bundle and attached to the base of the tail or to the bridle. No other horse could pass the one carrying sau-gas-sim. In a variation of this casting of a spell so that other horses could not pass, the root was held in the rider's mouth. Short pieces were broken from the stem of man sage (Artemisia ludoviciana) and a small, flat, white stone was collected. The man first sprayed the rock with juice from his mouth. Then the stems were placed on the ground; they represented the [801] other horses. The stone was sprayed again and shoved toward the stems, without touching them, three times. At the fourth shove the stone was pressed onto the stems.

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 43

541 824 777 pressed onto the stems. Horses so cursed were sure to slacken in the race.

Another method made use of a quirt (or a rod). The sau-gas-sim was placed in the mouth, and the rider sprayed the quirt with the juice. This quirt was not used to whip the horse. When the race began, the rider would try to get on the right side of the other horses; he carried the magic quirt but whipped his horse with a regular one. At an opportune time the rider threw back the sprayed quirt, causing the other horses to fall behind.

Sometimes a man used a small, flat stone that had been sprayed with the root. When no one was looking it was thrown at the competing horse. That horse would trip, probably break a leg, and die; and its owner would be sick for days.

524 525 824 777 [825] For use in the hand game, the root was kept in the mouth. This would make the other players lazy, and they would lose continually. But if a man was suspected of using the power root, there was a defense against its influence. The loser went to his lodge (or to one nearby) and asked for a small piece of meat, which he combined with man-sage leaves. Carrying this charm in his pocket, he returned to the gambling place, where he walked abruptly among the participants and took the dice in his hands. Then he pretended to sing and perform with the dice---all the while secretly rubbing [827] them with the meat-and-sage mixture. After he handed back the dice the man who had been using the sau-gas-sim would get a headache and grow lazy, losing all he had won.

824 777 [782] [695] The power root was used by ceremonialists to bless others with long life and good luck. Vows were made with sau-gas-sim, ceremony called for spitting on the hands and touching the head, shoulders, chest and hips: that insured the validity of whatever was said thereafter.

000 We have been told that the power root was once included in the rites of

LIST OF BUNDLES AND RELIGIOUS ARTIFACTS

ASSOCIATED WITH THE USE OF SWEET GRASS

778
824 INDEPENDENT BUNDLES

Bear Knife bundles

Beaver bundles

Big Smoke ceremony bundles

Birth Control bundles

[524] → Thunder Bands

[292] ← Ceremonial headdresses

● [541] → Medicine hats (straight-ups)

Round Dance headdress

Half-white headdress

Half-red headdress

[411] → Split-horn headdress

Bear Medicine hat

Snake Horn headdress

[292] ← Ceremonial robes

Weasel-tail robe

[789] → Calf robe

Hairlock robe

[292] ← Ceremonial shirts

Weasel-tailed shirts (suits)

Hairlock shirts

Lord's shirt

War shirt

Ghost shirt

Thunder shirt

Deer Dance bundles

Black-tailed Deer Dance bundle

Ghost Dance bundles

Holy Hand Game bundles

Horse bundles

War bridle bundles

Mask bundles

Quirt bundles

Medicine bundles

Lances

Medicine lance

Bear spear

Name-giving bundles

Natoas bundles

Personal charms

Umbilical cord amulets

Otter bundles

Rattling Smoking Otter bundle

Personal war-charm bundles

Riding Big Dance bundles

Scalp Dance bundles

Buffalo Runner bundles

came a famous winner. He warned anyone who came near the horse that no Medicine must ever be used on it, nor must it ever be ridden double. One weekend Bird Rattler let his brother Running Rattling take Apistokinii to a nearby race. Many good horses were participating, and Running Rattling became worried about the strong competition. So he asked a Medicine Man known for his successful Powers with horses to give some of his Power to Apistokinii. The Medicine Man did, and Apistokinii won the race. That evening Running Rattling rode the horse back home in the company of a friend. When the friend's horse stepped on a sharp stone and went lame, Running Rattling invited him to ride double. Not long after, they came to a narrow ravine. Running Rattling urged Apistokinii forward to jump over it. Burdened with two riders, Apistokinii did not complete the leap fully. His hind legs slipped back down the embankment, breaking both hips. Apistokinii sat, unable to rise. Running Rattling walked home the rest of the way greatly worried. He went to bed and said nothing until the next morning. Bird Rattler was quite saddened when he was told what happened. He took his rifle and shot Apistokinii, then covered him with his finest Hudson's Bay blanket. It was not until much later that he discovered his brother had disobeyed his orders.

231 231 593 [426] [541] [789] [492]

Bird Rattler's last raid did not end as well as his others. On returning to camp with newly stolen Crow horses, he and his partners, Weasel Tail and Black Looking, were arrested by Mounted Police. They were put in ball and chains in the guardhouse at Fort MacLeod. Managing to escape, they fled south to their relatives among the South Piegans of Montana. Weasel Tail and Black Looking returned to live in Canada, years later, after the incident had been officially forgotten. Bird Rattler stayed in Montana to become a successful farmer, an honorable tribal judge, and Keeper of the Piegan's sacred Circle Dance Medicine Pipe Bundle until his death in 1939.

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[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

have carefully traced the disposition of all the missing society Bundles, locating ten of them, and, as of this writing, are negotiating for their return to the society. 575 186

For some time before last summer's Horns membership transfer ceremony, families of the new members went around the camp circle, one at a time, displaying their payments for the membership. Old People walked ahead of each procession, calling out the name of the new member and singing words of praise for him. Mokakin was the most popular man in camp for this duty, and before long his voice was so hoarse and broken-he could barely be heard. Among the processions he led was one for Ponah's nephew, Cyril Red Crow. To help him with his payments, his sister and her husband, Stabs Down, paid the quarter horse we had given to them some time earlier when we took our Medicine Pipe. Most of the horses shown as payments were covered with fine blankets, while those who led them wore buckskin suits and eagle feather headdresses. All these goods were to be given as payments. 575 432 [424] [887] [292]

The transfer ceremony was held inside a fenced circular enclosure. Spectators crowded outside to see functions similar to those described by Wilson. Within the enclosure was a large crowd of old members, new members, and former members, all with their wives. The former members served as advisors to both old and new members. A couple of the retiring members were South Piegans who had come up for the occasion from Montana. 575 432 796 [484]

When the new members had made their rounds outside the camp circle, they were preceded by their leaders, one on a black horse and one on a white, just as Wilson observed. The dance leader wore the ancient headdress with a feather stuck in the front to represent the arrow once shot into the forehead of a long-ago, similarly headdressed dance leader. The original arrow remained lodged in its place while the wearer of the headdress led his party of Bloods to a victory against the enemy. This battle and victory are re- [292] [541]

[p. 210-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

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Atsitsina and relatives displaying the saddle horse, shawl, and headdress being paid by Fred Eagle Plume for his membership in the Horns. [435] [424]

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enacted during each summer's dance, the symbolic battle ending when the leader fires his gun into the air and charges through the crowd of children, who are the "enemy." 575 432 796

As part of their performance, the Horns gave away rations of food to all the adults in the crowd. At the same time, the staffs of the two leaders were blessed by two old men who each called out four brave deeds. The leader's Swan Staff was brought to our Old Man; it had once been his, when he had been leader of the Horns. He called out four exploits of horse raiding, and said a prayer. The other staff was taken to Ben Calf Robe, the old man who had come down to visit the encampment from his home on the North Blackfoot Reserve. He had also been a member of the Horns Society, which is now inactive there. [541] [431] [782] [555] [887]

[p.211-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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[p. 307]

Dressed and ready for a horse race along the Highwood River in 1893. (Glenbow Archives)

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We used to play a game with bows and arrows; we put mud balls on the points. We had mock wars. People from the opposite ends of the reserve would shoot at each other with the mud-tipped arrows and the winners would keep all the arrows. We played a hoop game and in the spring when the geese came back, all the women and the men played ball games. Kids used to go out on the prairie and play. We would snare gophers, then take them home and cook them and eat them. They were not too bad. [857] [224] [262]

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I was a very good dancer. Everyone used to watch me. I was always the first one out on the dance floor when I was young. . . . I always danced at the stampede and exhibitions they had in Fort MacLeod and in Lethbridge and several times I danced at the Calgary Stampede, once on the back of a flat trailer.

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The most important place I ever danced at was in Banff, when Long-Faced Crow [Wilson] took us up there to entertain some officials. Fifty-five of us went up there by train. We took along several painted lodges to sleep in. They drove us out to the buffalo paddock in cars and I remember some of the Old Men, like Natosina, talking about how they would like to have a bow and arrow and go in there for just one more buffalo. They really liked seeing buffalo again. We had ten tipis set up; most of the men brought their wives along.

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When we got ready to dance for all the white people in Banff, Wilson told me not to wear any clothes, just to wear my breechcloth and to dance with my hoops. My moccasins were fully beaded with white background and I had paint all over my body. There were several people taking pictures of me, some of them with those big cameras that they put their heads inside of. I never saw any of the pictures. The other Bloods that were along illustrated all kinds of things from the Old Days. They had mock battles and horse raids and they put up tipis. Natosina even led a Nighttime ceremony for them inside the big

house; the white people were standing all around them watching. 535 [541]

I always look forward to going to any kind of dance, even though I can only hear the drums and bells. I remember just what it looked like in the Old Days, and I always get up and pretend that I am dancing like when I was young again. My grandchildren sing Indian songs and drum and I get up and dance every night. [177]

DAN WEASEL MOCCASIN

Dan Weasel Moccasin has worn his hair in two braids all his life and is often called "Braids," although his actual name is Yellow Horse Rider. He parts his hair down the middle, instead of to one side as was our usual custom. It is not proper to ask someone questions about personal habits, but it is known that Yellow Horse Rider keeps his hair long for holy reasons. 302 [551] [553] [576]

His father, old Weasel Moccasin, was a member of the Knife Owners band and the Horns Society. His mother was a member of the All Short People band. Yellow Horse Rider was their minipoka, and the usual favorite children's sacred articles were transferred to him. 858 [425] [778]

When he was seven, old Heavy Shield gave him a Medicine Lodge necklace. A Piegan holy woman named Handsome Gun Woman gave him another necklace during a Sun Dance ceremony. While he was young he also had the topknots from both the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe and the Cree Medicine Pipe. Later he was given the rights to the sacred Lynx Tail Headpiece from Calling Last's Beaver Bundle. He never transferred it to anyone else, although Calling Last left it in his Bundle when he sold it to the museum. 858 857 778 425

Around 1943, Yellow Horse Rider took the Children's Medicine Pipe with his daughter, Eleanor. His father gave up his fine buckskin outfit and seven good horses for it. They kept the Pipe for five years before giving it up to John Red Crane. 778 425 852 [435]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Joe Young Pine, around 1915. He cut his braids shortly before going to Australia. To his right stands Ernest Brave Rock, brother of Mrs. Wadsworth. Seated before them is the wife of Joe's older brother, Black Sleeps. (Joe Young Pine Collection)

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worry about somebody taking off in my car and wrecking it. That used to happen a lot.

[164]

I used to race chuckwagons at all the rodeos and stampedes. In 1939 I was one of the fellows that was sent to Australia from this reserve. We

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[p. 334-A]

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33: Bradley G-3 (1871-1877) 1923
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

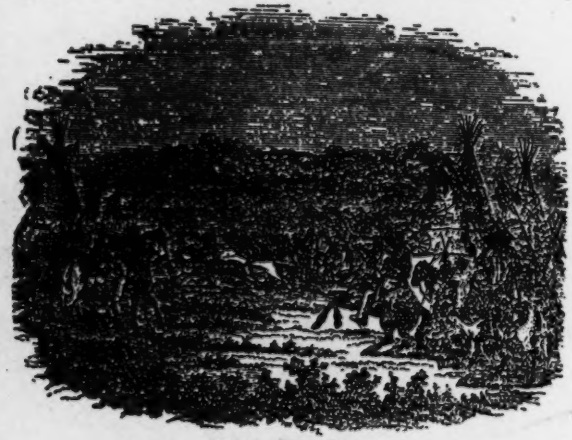
524 by thirty in length was cleared of obstructions and rendered as smooth as possible. A ring of bone, stone or metal about two and one-half inches in diameter was provided, across which were stretched two beaded strings, crossing in the center of the ring at right angles. Two players participated in the game, each of whom was provided with a small stick about six feet long, one end of which terminated in a small hook. Standing side by side at one end of the prepared place, one of the players tossed the ring so as to roll it along the ground in their front, when both started after it together, throwing their sticks in advance of the ring with the object of catching it upon the hook. The players then resume their stations and throw the ring and follow it as before. A stick of wood is placed across the farther end of the course to stop the ring in the event of both players failing to catch it upon his hook. The writer has been unable to learn with certainty the manner of counting the game, but it appears to have been determined by the particular division of the ring (made by the crossed strings) in which the hook was [525] caught. Large amounts were often staked upon the game and the players would become so interested as frequently [171] to continue it the entire day. A very similar game was described by Catlin as prevalent among the Mandans, but it differed in several particulars.

• 541 The men also played the game of ball already described and in summer horse racing was a favorite amusement, [525] the course being usually three or four miles. As in civilized society extensive betting accompanied every race and there was nothing the Blackfoot gambler was not ready to stake except his liberty and his wife.

524 Another favorite gambling game was that of Open and
525 Shut. It was played by any number of persons, divided
[533] into two sides, who sat facing each other on the ground, and, while all sang a particular song, some member of one side passed some small article back and forth in his hands endeavoring to conceal in which hand it finally rested. If guessed correctly his side paid a forfeit, otherwise it received one from the other side.

47: Kane R,T-3 (1848) 1925 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

journeys, and pitching their tents on towards Edmonton, leaving few behind capable of bearing arms. They were in pursuit of the Crees and Assiniboines, whom they threatened totally to annihilate, boasting that they themselves were as numerous as the grass on the plains. They were the best mounted, the best looking, the most



No. 16—Horse Race.

warlike in appearance, and the best accoutred of any tribe I had ever seen on the continent during my route. As Mr. Harriett was very anxious to cultivate the acquaintance and friendship of such questionable characters, he accepted of their invitation to "camp" with them until the following morning, which was exceedingly acceptable to me, as it enabled me to make several sketches, and to hear something about them. After our smoke several of the young Braves engaged in a horse race, to which sport they are very partial, and at which they bet heavily; they generally ride on those occasions

47: Kane R,T-3 (1848) 1925 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

541 525 [492] 126 stark naked, without a saddle, and with only a lasso fastened to the lower jaw of the horse as represented in Sketch No. 16.[A] I had some difficulty at first in getting their chiefs to let me take their likenesses, but after they comprehended what I wanted, they made no objections.

648 721 124 Big Snake's brother was the first who sat to me, and while I was sketching, he told me the following anecdote of his brother, of whom he seemed to be very proud. Mr. Harriett understood the language and acted as interpreter. Some time back, Big Snake had the free admission to one of the American forts near the Rocky Mountains. Coming up one day with two other Indians, to enter the gate, it was shut rudely in his face by the orders of the commander, who had only lately arrived in the country. This his pride led him to regard as a direct insult; he rode away, and falling in with some cattle that he knew belonged to the fort, he commenced firing on them, and killed thirteen. As soon as the sentinel, who had given offence, heard the shots, he suspected the reason, and informed the superintendent, who immediately collected his men, and sallied out with them well armed, in the direction of the firing. Big Snake being on the watch, hid himself with his two companions behind a small hill.

The party from the fort apprehending there might be a large number of Indians hid, hesitated to advance within gun-shot; but a negro of the party offered to proceed and reconnoitre. Approaching the hill with great caution, and seeing no one, he began to think they had escaped; but, when within about twenty yards of the top, Big Snake sprang up from his lair and fired, bringing him down, and the next moment bore off his scalp, and waved it in derision towards the Americans.

A. [See Category 116. p. 295--Analyst]

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

with vermillion earth paint. Jimmy admonished me to make certain that when I arose again I should turn to the right and not to the left. I still don't know why, but after I had knelt and the Chief had painted my forehead and nose and cheeks and the part of my hair and had chanted a prayer for me, I was careful to do as Jimmy had directed.

Anyone who thinks that Blackfoot Indians stand around with their arms folded under their blankets, feeling sorry for themselves or otherwise wasting time, could not be more mistaken. Despite lack of educational and employment opportunity—despite lack of money and everything that lack of money implies—the Blackfoot of today holds to the perdurable courage and zest for living which is his heritage.

"Idleness is the devil's workshop," my grandmother used to say, and the devil would find very little working room among the Blackfoots. There is always something cooking on the Reservation. Last night there was a dance in town, this morning there was the Beaver Dance, and this afternoon, as soon as the ceremony was completed, everybody went barrelling across the prairie to the Starr School racetrack.

The racetrack is only about a mile behind Jim White Grass' house, and the Chief and Jim and I got there in time for the first race. I parked the station wagon between two other cars, and as I got out, an intoxicated younger-generation Indian stuck his hand out of a car window (why is it that all drunks want to shake hands!) and asked me who I was. I shook hands and spoke to him in Blackfoot and left him staring in the wide-eyed, drop-jawed posture of disbelief that only a drunk can portray. He was very young, and the only drunk I saw at the races.

Almost the next person I met was Stanley White Man, leading his palomino racehorse. I said, "Are you going to race the palomino, Stanley?"

Stanley said, "Yah, she's going ride her for me." Which, as anyone knows, meant that Stanley was going to enter the horse and that he had hired a jockey (male) to ride her for him. Stanley's horse lost.

The races were all match races, run over a straight, quarter-mile course. The finishline was flanked for many yards with cars and trucks, and the bet-takers were busily conducting business on the hood of an automobile. I was really quite pleased that I had represented the event so accurately in "Horserace."

The Chief was laying down bets along with the best of them. In-

525 dians love to wager, and Jimmy says that they even bet on whether someone will snare a whitefish on the next attempt, sometimes betting a dollar a loop. The Chief, by the way, is an excellent judge of horseflesh, and he won a few bucks today.

126 Last time, down at Heart Butte, I did not take any pictures of
●541 the races, but today I came well prepared and shot a full roll
525 of 35mm and two reels of 8mm movie film. A "Stick Game," one of which invariably takes place along with the horseraces, was in progress a short distance from the track, and since the stick game had constituted an important symbolic element of "Horserace," I took
525 some movie shots of this one. The stick game is an Indian gambling game in which two lines of people—each side representing a team —sit facing each other. To the accompaniment of a very rapid drumming, and a constant, unisonous chanting by all the players, two sets of small bones, one in each set marked with a black stripe, are shuffled and concealed in the hands of two of the participants. The object is for the opposing team to guess in which hands the unmarked bones are concealed, the guess being made not vocally but by intricate gestures of the fingers and thumbs of both hands. Score is kept by the passing back and forth of small sticks, the first side to have ten sticks being the winner. The stick game is, like all Indian games, a very graceful and rhythmic thing. Jimmy immediately joined the game, but the best player was Ray Many Hides, one of Phillip Many Hides' sons. Ray is a fine young chap, and one of my favorites among the younger Indians.

123 As I raised the camera from the game to get a shot of the on-
126 lookers, a lovely teen-age Indian girl hastily shook out her long hair and touched it with an infinitely feminine gesture in preparation for having her picture taken. This kind of grabbed at me because I recognized the girl as one of the older kids that had been at the Beaver Ceremony. I had felt strangely drawn to this lovely little creature with the sensitive face and the shy demeanor. I had fallen immediately in love with her large, moist, doe-like eyes, and I had wondered that she did not enter into things but rather spent the entire time in the kitchen, her jean-clad legs dangling from the high
[732] table upon which she sat. And then finally she got up to leave, and I could tell then that her blue jeans masked a badly crippled leg.

When the films are developed, I am sure that I will have a fine photographic record of both the horseraces and the stick game, but there is no escape from the suspicion that by taking pictures I have somehow cheated myself. Somehow the presence of the cameras places me outside of things, and although I will always be able to

571 contact beyond the immediate Reserve community, he runs
648 afoul of the ambivalent relations between the Blood and white communities. Both communities hold mixed feelings about one another and attempt to discourage external rela-
562 tions. Male-female relations are tenuous. From the
593 strained relations between brother and sister to the aggressive acts between sweethearts and spouses this pattern emerges. It is a common pattern. Independent young men and women cannot easily change attitudes learned in the rough and tumble of parental marital crises and intercultural hostility.

Athletics

526 This competitive independence would have been more
[155] apparent if it were possible to include the various athletic
[555] activities engaged in by the young men. For the young Blood, these activities lead to personal achievement, and, therefore, they select activities that they do well. What the young man does well has to do with his general back-
● [541] ground and the opportunities it provides. Several of the young men of the sample, brought up in a ranching or stock rearing environment, specialized in rodeo events such as calf roping and bronc riding. Others, only marginally connected with this life also chose to compete in bronc riding.
524 Many homes that are devoid of livestock sport a "bucking

461 526 that it is something that they can do on the basis of previous experience (6 statements). Boxing is called healthy (4 statements) and active (4 statements). It is also seen as a vehicle to recognition (3 statements). Interestingly, reluctance to accept Boxing is justified on the grounds of previous knowledge (2 statements).

Rejections focus on personal injury or disfigurement (16 statements). Lack of experience is another reason for rejecting Boxing (6 statements). Specific damage to one's physical appearance is also cited (5 statements), as is the idea that Boxing is "bad" (4 statements). Boxing is called frightening, unhealthy, and overly aggressive three times each. Ambivalence toward rejection is expressed in terms of having previous experience or having some kind of recognition (2 statements each).

541 526 461 Boxing contrasts sharply with Bronc Riding. Despite sharing the attributes of excitement and experiential understanding, they are alike in their most frequent reason for rejection: personal injury and lack of experience. Neither activity is primarily of the "learned" variety. Despite these similarities, Boxing and Bronc Riding are diametrically opposed to one another in general evaluation. Fifty-two per cent of the young Blood interviewed selected Bronc Riding among the generally acceptable, while fifty-

541 526 461 two per cent of the intervievees rejected Boxing. This distribution on the general level contrasts with the distribution of favorites. Bronc Riding was the fourth favorite, and Boxing was the eighth. On the basis of such a distribution it may be concluded that, although there are areas of similarity between the two, there are also aspects of dissimilarity which may be of some importance to the delineation of young Blood instrumental values. This can best be illustrated by comparing quotations.

(Br. R.) Well, I used to ride saddle Bronc a few years ago. (Question--Why?) It's the excitement of the game. The sport. It's a rough sport, a challenge.

(Boxer) I fought for about ten years, amateur and pro. . . . I haven't really quit. It's gettin' too rough since I turned pro. I box whenever I get the chance.

"Sport" appears to be the important word in the relationship between the two activities. Some further examples may indicate the nature of the relationship.

(Br. R.) I've done a lot of bronc riding and I like the sport. I've made some money at it and I hope to make some more. I guess it's the one sport I really like. It's just the sport of it and the money.

and,

(Br. R.) OK. Just for free time. Just for sport. Not to take it serious.

or,

(Boxer) It's my sport. (Question--Why?) I just like it for a sport.

541 526 461

or more explicitly,

(Boxer) Boxing runs in my family. All my uncles are boxers. I hoped to be one. I started once but I failed to finish because of physical disability. It keeps your mind occupied, and it can be profitable if you train hard. I like activities. I don't like sitting around like some other guys. I learned a little judo, boxing, wrestling. I like sports. Indians are sportsmen. I like participating.

(Boxer) When I was going to boarding school that was the main sport. I boxed only a few fights, but I like it. It teaches a guy self-defense and keeps him in top shape.

and, to return to Bronc Riding:

(Br. R.) Get in shape, won't get old pretty fast. (Question--Rodeo?) I don't want to join the rodeo, just ride.

These selected quotations illustrate other levels of similarity between the activities. Both are considered "sports" which seems to imply a contest or a form of competition. Both are considered appropriately popular activities among the young Indian group. And, they are both seen as potentially profitable. Why then the discrepancy in popularity?

The difference between the two is alluded to in the preceding quotations, "Just for sport. Not to take it serious." "I don't want to join the rodeo, just ride." Bronc Riding has an applied and less formal competitive nature than does Boxing, and it relates to a primary popular concern of the Blood Reserve, ranching.

461 (Brand.) When you're living on a ranch you do that every year. It's a lot of fun doing that.

(Calf R.) It's, I like to be a roper. I'm not a roper but I like to do it. You have to learn it on a ranch.

(Br. R.) You have to break your own horses. You have to have saddle horses. We break our own. I'm not in the rodeo or anything like that. (Question--Compare Bronco Riding and Haying.) I like to tame horses. You can put a lot of pride in what you're doing. I like training them too. (Question--Compare as jobs.) Haying. You make money on that. Too many bronc riders on the Reserve.

[541] Although all of the young Blood would not view the relationship between stockman and bronc busting in the same light, it is felt that this is an apt characterization of the connection between the competitive rodeo aspect of Bronc Riding and its applied aspect. This correlation between applied and competitive sides does not apply to Boxing. Boxing, in order to reap the rewards of recognition and money, must be practiced in its most formal and competitive sense. As noted earlier, Boxing and Bronc Riding are both potentially injurious. However, Boxing implies, "Get a big nose and all kinds of bumps on your head. . . . too rough!" whereas Bronc Riding's injuries come only (?) to the inexperienced practitioner. Both activities indicate a desire on the part of the young Blood to master something; an animal or another human being. Both activities indicate a desire to stay in physical good health. However, Boxing

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implies injury or disfigurement. This aspect does not fit in well with the young Blood desire to appear healthy and successful. Again, both activities are in some way competitive and exciting, but Boxing is the more formal, the more demanding, the more rigorous in contrast to the casualness of Bronc Riding. Formality and commitment do not fit well with the free and leisurely aspects of the generally valued stock raising activities. Finally, Boxing demands a certain amount of overt aggression against another person.

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> (Boxer) I never was interested in that. I never liked to fight other people. Maybe you get a weak opponent, you beat hell out of him, you get nothing for it. Maybe if I was a professional, get paid well for it . . . well . . . ?

To this young Blood, and by implication to many of his peers, violence for its own sake is not rewarding, ". . . you get nothing for it." He can only accept such violence if he gets paid well for it. Thus it is not the aggressive nature of Boxing that is rewarding, but rather what one can get for it. What one can get for or from Boxing must be weighed against its disabilities. Boxing is not part of the casual yet rewarding stock raising complex. It is injurious, and it is formal and demanding. It is violent, violent toward other people. These disabilities contravene several aspects of what has been tentatively identified as Blood values. In Blood terms Boxing has

461 above and the presence of this specialized task in the roll of "favorites." This favoritism conflicts with the proposition that the young Blood choose their "favorites" on the basis of success potential. However, as a relatively non-injurious, exciting, and widespread sport, it should be 529 ranked high by the young men of the Reserve. Today, there 541 is a Blood Indian roping club, composed of both adults and 517 young men. Its "jackpot" roping events are well attended by both the young men and the more proficient adult practitioners. Thus it is thought to be a "favorite" because of the desirable social and experiential aspects of the activity and not to be in conflict with the assertion that "favorites" are generally of high success potential. The Blood value this activity because of its athletic and competitive nature, because it is not highly injurious, because it fits closely the casual and free pattern of the stock raising complex, and because a number of Blood have been and are now successful at it. For example, at a recent All-Indian Rodeo in Browning, Montana, most of the recipients of "day-money" or the major prize money in Calf Roping were Bloods.

461 It is felt, therefore, that Calf Roping is another 554 example of the powerful pull of the Ranching-rodeo value orientation. These activities share attributes that are generally valued by the Blood, and it is felt that the Blood

consider it better to be successful at these activities than to be successful in the other more practical and possibly non-Indian activities.

Chicken Dancer.--Office Worker and Chicken Dancer conclude the list of acceptable activities despite its affinities to white-man culture. Easy work was cited in reference to preferring Calf Roping, and, as will be seen, matters of personal pride and recognition will relate Chicken Dancing to Office Worker. With this comment we turn to Chicken Dancing.

It is noticeable that Chicken Dancing, more generally called "fancy dancing," is an aesthetic endeavor. Throughout western Canada, Indian Days, rodeos and stampedes feature this kind of dancing as a part of the entertainment. It also occurs at the more religious Sun Dance ceremonies on the Blackfoot Reserve at Gleichen, Alberta and at the Blood Sun Dance. There it is one of the social events surrounding the sacred Medicine Lodge ceremony. Chicken Dancing at the Indian Days and rodeos is often rewarded with prize money in much the same pattern as the rodeo events, but at the Sun Dance participation and the admiration of the spectators are the only rewards.

Twenty-two individuals held an opinion on Chicken Dancing, of whom thirteen, or fifty-nine per cent, favored it.